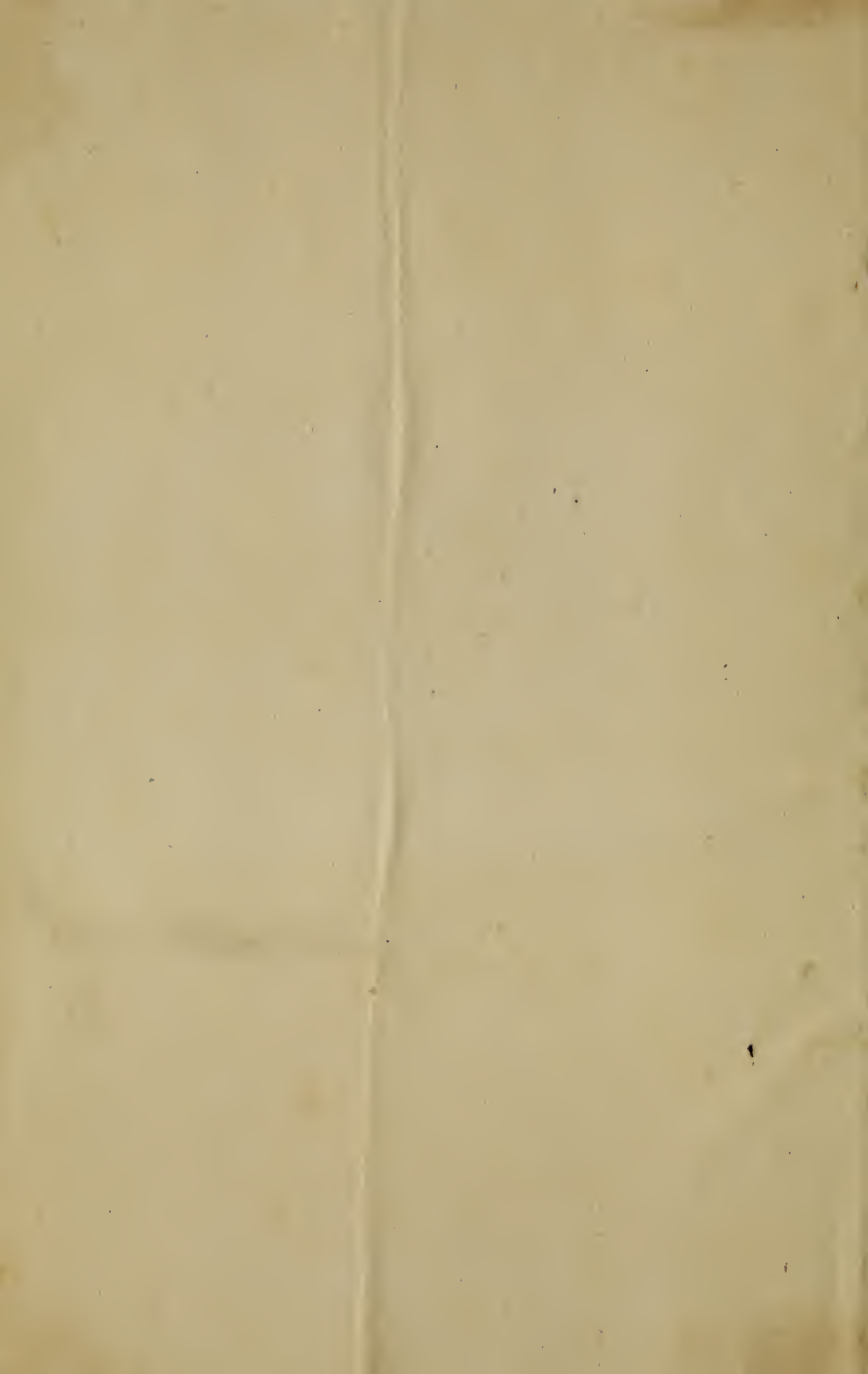


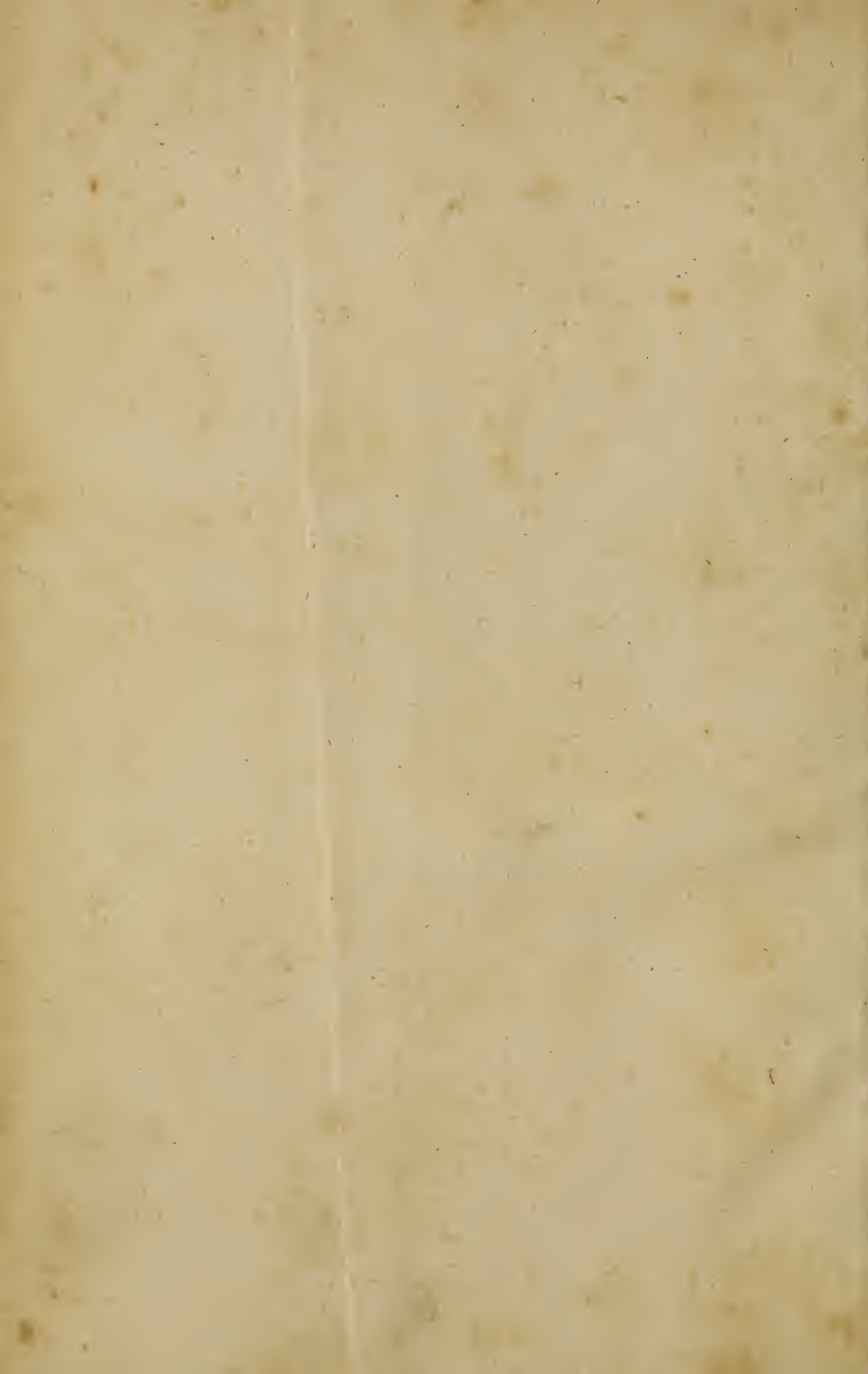
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SELECT TRACTS
RELATING TO THE
CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,
IN THE REIGN OF
KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

SELECT TRACTS
RELATING TO THE
CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,
IN THE REIGN OF
KING CHARLES THE FIRST;

BY WRITERS WHO LIVED IN THE TIME OF THOSE
WARS, AND WERE WITNESSES OF THE
EVENTS WHICH THEY DESCRIBE.

IN TWO PARTS.
PART II.

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BEHEMOTH:
THE
HISTORY
OF THE CAUSES OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF ENGLAND,

And of the Counsels and Artifices by which they were carried
on, from the Year 1640, to the Year 1660.

By THOMAS HOBBS, of Malmsbury.

*Bella per Angliacos plusquam civilia campos,
Jusque datum sceleri loquimur———*

HTON 3788

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BEHEMOTH:
OR,
THE EPITOME
OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF ENGLAND.

PART I.

A. IF in time, as in place, there were degrees of high and low. I verily believe that the highest of time would be that which passed between 1640 and 1660; for he that thence, as from the Devil's Mountain, should have looked upon the World, and observed the Actions of men, especially in England, might have had a prospect of all kinds of injustice, and all kinds of folly that the world could afford; and how they were produced by their Hypocrisy and self-conceit; whereof the one is double Iniquity, and the other double Folly.

B. I should be glad to behold that prospect. You that have lived in that time, and in that part of your age, wherein men use to see best into good and evil; I pray you set me (that could not see so well) upon the same mountain by the relation of the actions you then saw, and of their Causes, Pretensions, Justice, Order, Artifice, and event.

A. In the year 1640, the Government of England was Monarchical, and the King that reigned, Charles, the first of that name, holding the Sovereignty, by right of a descent continued above six hundred years, and from a much longer descent King of Scotland, and from the time
of

of his ancestor Henry II. King of Ireland ; a man that wanted no virtue, either of body or mind, nor endeavoured any thing more than to discharge his Duty towards God, in the well governing of his subjects.

B. How could he then miscarry, having in every county so many trained Soldiers as would (put together) have made an army of 60,000 men, and divers magazines of ammunition in places fortified ?

A. If those soldiers had been (as they and all other of his subjects ought to have been) at his Majesty's command, the Peace and Happiness of the three kingdoms had continued, as it was left by King James ; but the People were corrupted generally, and disobedient persons were esteemed the best Patriots.

B. But sure there were men enough, besides those that were ill-affected, to have made an Army sufficient to have kept the People from uniting into a body able to oppose him.

A. Truly I think, if the King had had Money, he might have had Soldiers enough in England ; for there were very few of the common people that cared much for either of the causes, but would have taken any side for pay and plunder. But the King's Treasure was very low, and his Enemies (that pretended to be desirous of the people's ease from taxes, and of other specious things), had the command of the City of London, and of most Cities and corporate Towns in England, and of many particular persons besides.

B. But how came the people to be so corrupted ? and what kind of people were they that did so seduce them ?

Presbyterian Ministers.

A. The seducers were of divers sorts. One sort was Ministers, *Ministers* (as they called themselves) of *Christ* ; and sometimes, in their Sermons to the People, *God's Ambassadors*, pretending to have a right from God to govern every one his parish, and their Assembly the whole nation.

Papists.

Secondly, There were a very great number (though not comparable to the other), which (notwithstanding that the Pope's power in England, both temporal and ecclesiastical, had been by Act of Parliament abolished,) did still retain a belief, that we ought to be governed by the Pope, whom they pretended to be *the Vicar of Christ*,
and

and in the right of Christ to be the Governour of all Christian People; and these were known by the name of *Papists*, as the Ministers I mentioned before were commonly called *Presbyterians*.

Thirdly, There were not a few, who in the beginning of the troubles were not discovered but shortly after declared themselves for a *Liberty of Religion*; and those were of different opinions from one another. Some of them (because they would have all Conregations free and independent one upon another) were called Independents; others that held baptism to infants, and to such as understood not into what they are baptized, to be ineffectual, were called therefore Anabaptists; others that held that Christ's kingdom was at this time to begin upon the earth, were called Fifth-monarchy Men; besides divers other sects, as Quakers, Adamites, &c. whose names and peculiar doctrines I do not well remember. And these were the enemies which arose against his Majesty from the private interpretation of the Scripture, which had been exposed to every man's scanning in his mother-tongue.

Fourthly There were an exceeding great number of men of the better sort, that had been so educated, as that in their youth, having read the books written by famous men of the antient Grecian and Roman Commonwealths, concerning their polity and great actions; in which books the *Popular Government* was extolled by the glorious name of Liberty, and Monarchy disgraced by the name of Tyranny, they became thereby in love with their forms of government: and out of these men were chosen the greatest part of the House of Commons; or, if they were not the greatest part, yet, by advantage of their eloquence, they were always able to sway the rest.

Fifthly, The City of London, and other great towns of trade, having in admiration the prosperity of the Low-Countries after they had revolted from their monarch Philip the 2nd, King of Spain, were inclined to think, that the like change of Government here, would to them produce the like Prosperity.

Sixthly, There were a very great number that had either wasted their fortunes, or thought them too mean for the good parts they thought were in themselves; and

Independents;

Anabaptists;

Fifth Monarchy men; Quakers; Adamites; and other Sectaries.

Many Gentlemen, of good estates, bred-up in the study of the Greek and Roman authors, who extoll republican forms of Government.

more

more there were that had able bodies, but saw no means how honestly to get their bread : these longed for a war; and hoped to maintain themselves hereafter by the lucky chusing of a party to side with, and consequently did, for the most part, serve under them that had the greatest plenty of money.

Lastly, The People in general were so ignorant of their duty, as that not one perhaps of ten thousand knew what right any man had to command him, or what necessity there was of King or Commonwealth, for which he was to part with his money against his will ; but thought himself to be so much master of whatsoever he possessed, that it could not be taken from him upon any pretence of common safety without his own consent. King they thought was but a title of the highest honour, which Gentleman, Knight, Baron, Earl, Duke, were but steps to ascend to, with the help of riches ; they had no rule of equity, but precedents and custom ; and he was thought wisest and fittest to be chosen for a Member of Parliament, that was most averse to the granting of subsidies, or other publick payments.

B. In such a constitution of people, methinks the King is already outed of his Government, so that they need not have taken arms for it ; for I cannot imagine how the King should come by any means to resist them.

A. There was indeed very great difficulty in the business ; but of that point you will be better informed in the pursuit of this narration.

B. But I desire to know first the several grounds of the pretences, both of the Pope, and of the Presbyterians, by which they claim a right to govern us, as they do, in chief ; and after that, from whence, and when, crept in the pretences of that long Parliament for a Democracy.

A. As for the Papists, they challenge this right from a text in *Deut. xvii.* and other like texts, according to the old Latin translation in these words : *And he that out of pride shall refuse to obey the commandment of that priest, which shall at that time minister before the Lord thy God ; that man shall, by the sentence of the judge, be put to death.* And because, as the Jews were the People of God then, so is all Christendom the People of God

now ;

The grounds of the pretensions of the Papists to have power in the State.

now; they infer from thence, that the Pope, whom they pretend to be the High Priest of all Christian People, ought also to be obeyed in all her decrees, by all Christians, upon pain of death. Again, whereas in the New Testament Christ saith, *All power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth; go therefore and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and teach them to observe all these things that I have commanded you.* From thence they infer, that the command of the Apostles was to be obeyed, and by consequence the nations were bound to be governed by them, and especially by the Prince of the Apostles St. Peter, and by his successors the Popes of Rome.

B. For the text in the Old Testament, I do not see how the commandments of God to the Jews to obey their priests, can be interpreted to have the like force in the case of other nations Christian, more than upon nations Unchristian; for all the world are God's people; unless we also grant, that a King cannot of an Infidel be made Christian, without making himself subject to the laws of that Apostle, or Priest, or Minister that shall convert him. The Jews were a peculiar people of God, a sacerdotal kingdom, and bound to no other law, but what first Moses, and afterwards every High Priest did go and receive immediately from the mouth of God in Mount Sinai, in the Tabernacle of the Ark, and in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the Temple. And for the text in St. Matthew, I know the words of the Gospel are not *Go teach*, but *Go and make disciples*; and that there is a great difference between a subject and a disciple, and between teaching and commanding. And if such texts as these must be so interpreted, why do not Christian Kings lay down their titles of Majesty and Sovereignty, and call themselves the Pope's Lieutenants? But the doctors of the Roman church seem to decline that title of absolute power, in their distinction of *power spiritual* and *power temporal*; but this distinction I do not very well understand.

A. By *spiritual power* they mean the power to determine points of faith, and to be Judges in the inner Court

Of the meaning of the words *Spiritual Power*, as understood by the Papists.

of Conscience, of moral Duties, and of a power to punish those men that obey not their Precepts by ecclesiastical Censure, that is, by Excommunication: and this power, they say, the Pope hath immediately from Christ, without dependence upon any King, or Sovereign assembly, whose subjects they be that stand excommunicate. But for the power temporal, which consists in judging and punishing those actions that are done against the Civil Laws, they say, they do not pretend to it directly, that is to say, [only] so far forth as such actions tend to the hindrance or advancement of Religion and good Manners, which they mean when they say *in ordine ad spiritualia*.

B. What power then is left to Kings, and other civil Sovereigns, which the Pope may not pretend to be his *in ordine ad spiritualia*?

A. None or very little: and this power the Pope pretends to in all Christendom. But some of his Bishops also [pretended to have it] in their several dioceses. *Jure Divino*, that is, immediately from Christ, without deriving it from the Pope.

B. But what, if a man refuse obedience to this pretended power of the Pope and his Bishops? What harm can Excommunication do him, especially if he be the subject of another Sovereign?

A. Very great harm; for by the Pope's, or Bishop's, signification of it to the civil power; he shall be punished sufficiently.

B. He would be in an ill case then, that should venture to write, or speak in defence of the civil power, since he must be punished by him whose rights he defended; like Uzza, that was slain, because he would needs, unbidden, put forth his hand to keep the Ark from falling. But, what if a whole nation should revolt from the Pope at once? What effect could Excommunication have upon the Nation?

A. Why, they should have no more Mass said, at least by any of the Pope's Priests: and besides, the Pope should have no more to do with them, but to cast them off; and so they would be in the same case, as if a nation should be cast-off by their King, and left to be governed by themselves, or whom they would.

B. This would not be taken so much for a punishment

to the People, as to the King; and therefore, when a Pope excommunicates a whole nation, methinks he rather excommunicates himself, than them. But, I pray you, tell me, what were the Rights that the Pope pretended-to in the kingdoms of other Princes?

A. First, An exemption of all Priests, Friars, and Monks, in criminal causes, from the cognizance of civil Judges. Secondly, Collations of Benefices on whom he pleased, native or stranger; and exaction of Tenths, First-fruits, and other payments. Thirdly, Appeals to Rome in all causes where the Church could pretend to be concerned. Fourthly, To be the supreme Judge, concerning lawfulness of Marriage (*i. e.* concerning the hereditary succession of Kings) and to have the cognizance of all causes concerning Adultery and Fornication.

Of the rights claimed by the Pope in the kingdoms of other Princes.

B. Good! a Monopoly of Women.

A. Fifthly, A power of absolving subjects of their duties, and of their oaths of fidelity to their lawful Sovereigns, when the Pope should think fit, for the extirpation of Heresy.

B. This power of absolving subjects of their obedience, as also that other of being judge of manners and doctrine, is as absolute a sovereignty as is possible to be; and consequently there must be two kingdoms in one and the same nation, and no man would be able to know which of his masters he must obey.

A. For my part, I shall rather obey that master that had the right of making Laws; and of inflicting Punishments, than him that pretended only to a right of making Canons, that is to say, rules, and no Right of co-action, or otherwise punishing, but by Excommunication.

B. But the Pope pretends also, that his Canons are Laws; and for punishing, can there be any greater punishment than Excommunication; supposing it true (as the Pope saith it is) that he that dies excommunicate is damned? Which supposition, it seems, you believe not; else you would rather have chosen to obey the Pope, that would cast you, body and soul, into Hell, than the King, that can only kill the body.

A. You say true; for it were very uncharitable in me to believe, that all Englishmen (except a few Papists) that

that have been born and called *heretics*, ever since the Reformation of Religion in England, should be damned.

B But those that die excommunicate in the Church of England, at this day, do you not think them also damned?

A. Doubtless he that dies in sin without repentance, is damned: and he that is excommunicate for disobedience to the King's Laws, either Spiritual or Temporal, is excommunicate for sin; and therefore, if he die excommunicate and without desire of reconciliation, he dies impenitent. You see what follows; but to die in disobedience to the precepts and doctrines of those men that have no authority, or jurisdiction, over us, is quite another case, and bringeth no such danger with it.

B. But what is this *heresy* which the church of Rome so cruelly persecutes, as to depose Kings that do not, when they are bidden, turn all Heretics out of their dominions?

Of the meaning of
the word *Heresy*.

A. *Heresy* is a word, which, when it is used without passion, signifies a *private opinion*. These, for Example, the Opinions of the different sects of the old Philosophers, Academians, Peripatetics, Epicureans, Stoics, &c. were called *Heresies*. But in the Christian Church, there was in the signification of that word comprehended a *sinful Opposition to him that was Chief Judge of Doctrines, in order to the Salvation of Mens Souls*; and consequently *heresy* may be said to bear the same relation to the power Spiritual, that Rebellion doth to the power Temporal, and is suitably to be persecuted by him that will preserve a power Spiritual and dominion over mens consciences.

B. It would be very well (because we are all of us permitted to read the Holy Scriptures, and bound to make them the rule of our actions, both publick and private) that *heresy* were by some law defined, and the particular opinions set-forth, for which a man were to be condemned and punished as a *heretick*. For else, not only men of mean capacity, but even the wisest and devoutest Christian, may fall into *heresy* without any will to oppose the Church; for the Scriptures are hard, and the interpretations different of different men.

A. The meaning of the word *heresy* is by law declared in

in an Act of Parliament in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth, wherein it was ordained, That the Persons who had, by the Queen's Letters Patents, the Authority Spiritual (meaning the High-Commission) shall not have the Authority to adjudge any Matter, or Cause, to be Heresy, but only such as heretofore have been adjudged to be Heresy by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils. or by any other General Council, where the same was declared Heresy by the express and plain Words of the said Canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be adjudged Heresy by the High Court of Parliament of this Realm, with the Assent of the Clergy in their Convocation.

B. It seems therefore that, if there arise any new Error that hath not yet been declared Heresy, (and many such may arise) it cannot be judged Heresy without a Parliament. For, how foul soever the Error be, it cannot have been declared Heresy, neither in the Scriptures, nor in the Councils, because it was never before heard of and consequently there can be no Error (unless it fall within the Compass of Blasphemy against God, or Treason against the King) for which a Man can in Equity be punished. Besides, who can tell what is declared by the Scripture, which every Man is allowed to read and interpret to himself? Nay, more, what Protestant, either of the Laity or the Clergy (if every General Council can be a competent Judge of Heresy) is not already condemned? for divers Councils have declared a great many of our Doctrines to be Heresy, and that (as they pretend) upon the Authority of the Scriptures.

A. What are those Points that the first four General Councils have declared Heresy?

B. The first General Council held at Nice declared all to be Heresy, which was contrary to the Nicene Creed, upon occasion of the Heresy of Arius, which was the denying the Divinity of Christ. The second General Council held at Constantinople, declared Heresy the Doctrine of Macedonius; which was that the Holy Ghost was created. The third Council assembled at Ephesus, condemned the Doctrine of Nestorius, that there were two Persons in Christ. The fourth held at Chalcedon, condemned the

The Opinions that were declared to be Heresies by the first four General Councils.

Error of Eutyches, that there was but one Nature in Christ. I know of no other Points condemned in these four Councils, but such as concern Church Government, or the same Doctrines taught by other Men in other Words; and these Councils were all called by the Emperors, and by them their Decrees confirmed, at the Petition of the Councils themselves

A. I see by this, that both the calling of the Council, and the confirmation of their Doctrine and Church-Government, had no obligatory force, but from the authority of the Emperor. How comes it then to pass, that they take upon themselves a legislative power, and say their Canons are Laws? That text, *All power is given to me in Heaven and Earth*, had the same force then as it hath now, and conferred a legislative power on the Councils, not only over Christian men, but over all nations in the world.

B. They say, no; for the power they pretend to is derived from this, that when a King was converted from Gentilism to Christianity, he did by that very submission to the Bishop that converted him, submit to the Bishop's government, and became one of his sheep; which right therefore he could not have over any nation that was not Christian.

A. Did Sylvester (who was Pope of Rome in the time of Constantine the Great, who was converted by him) tell the Emperor, his new disciple, beforehand, that, if he became a Christian, he must be the Pope's subject?

B. I believe not; for it is likely enough, if he had told him so plainly, or but made him suspect it, he would either have been no Christian at all, or but a counterfeit one.

A. But, if he did not tell him so, and that plainly, it was foul play, not only in a priest, but in any Christian; and for this derivation of their right from the Emperor's consent, it proceeds only from this, "that they dare not challenge to themselves a legislative power, nor call their Canons *Laws* in any Kingdom in Christendom, farther than the Kings make them so." But in Peru, when Atabalipa was King, the Friar told him, that Christ, being King of all the World, had given the disposing of all the
the

the kingdoms therein to the Pope. and that the Pope had given Peru to the Roman Emperor, Charles V. and required Atabalipa to resign it; and, for refusing it, seized upon his person by the Spanish army there present, and murdered him. You see by this “how much they claim, when they have power to make it good.”

B. When began the Popes to take this authority upon them first?

A. After the Inundation of the northern people had overflowed the western parts of the Empire, and they had possessed themselves of Italy; the people of the City of Rome submitted themselves, as well in Temporals as in Spirituals, to the Government of their own Bishop; and then first, was the Pope a Temporal Prince, and stood no more in so great fear of the Emperors, who lived far off at Constantinople. In this time it was, that the Pope began, by pretence of his power Spiritual, to encroach upon the Temporal right of all other Princes of the West, and so continued gaining upon them, till his power was at the highest, in that period of three hundred years, or thereabout, which passed between the eighth and the eleventh century, that is, between the time of Pope Leo III. and that of Pope Innocent III. For in this time Pope Zachary I. deposed Chilperic, then King of France, and gave the kingdom to one of his subjects, Pepin; and Pepin took from the Lombards a great part of their territory, and gave it to the Church. Shortly after, the Lombards having recovered their estate, Charles the Great retook it, and gave it to the Church again, and Pope Leo III. made Charles Emperor.

B. But what right did the Pope then pretend for the creating of an Emperor?

A. He pretended the right of being Christ's Vicar; and what Christ could give, his Vicar might give; and you know that Christ was King of all the World.

B. Yes, as God; and so he gives all the Kingdoms of the World; which nevertheless proceed from the Consent of the People, either for Fear or Hope.

A. But this Gift of the Empire was in a more special Manner, to wit, in such a Manner as Moses had the Government of Israel given him, or rather as Joshua had it given him, to go in and out before the People, as the High-Priest

should direct him ; and so the Empire was understood to be given him, on Condition to be directed by the Pope ; for when the Pope invested him with the Regal Ornaments, the People all cried out, *Deus dat*, that is to say, “ ’tis God that gives it ; ” and the Emperor was contented so to take it. And from that time all, or most of the Christian Kings, do put into their Titles the Words *Dei gratia*, that is, by the Gift of God ; and their Successors use still to receive the Crown and Scepter from a Bishop.

B. ’Tis certainly a very good Custom for Kings to be put in mind by whose Gift they reign. But it cannot from that Custom be inferred, that they receive the Kingdom by Mediation of the Pope, or by any other Clergy : for the Popes themselves received the Papacy from the Emperor. The first that ever was elected Bishop of Rome, after the Emperors were Christians, and without the Emperor’s Consent, excused himself by Letters to the Emperor with this ; “ That the People and Clergy of Rome had forced him to take it upon him ; ” and prayed the Emperor to confirm it ; which the Emperor did, but with a Reprehension of their Proceedings, and a Prohibition of the like for the Time to come : The Emperor was Lotharius, and the Pope Calixtus I.

A. You see by this “ that the Emperor never acknowledged that this gift of God was the gift of the Pope, but maintained, that the Popedom was the gift of the Emperor.” But in process of time, by the negligence of the Emperors (for the greatness of Kings makes them find it difficult to descend into the obscure and narrow mines of an ambitious Clergy), they found means to make the people believe, that there was a power in the Pope and Clergy, to which they ought to submit, rather than to the commands of their own Kings, whensoever those two Powers should come into competition. And to that end they devised and decreed many new Articles of Faith, which tended to the diminution of the authority of Kings, and to the disjunction of them from their subjects, and to a closer adherence of their subjects to the Church of Rome ;—Articles, either not at all found in, or not well founded upon, the Scriptures ; As, for example, in the first place, that it should not be lawful for a Priest to marry.

Of the Prohibition of
Marriage to Priests.

B. What

B. What influence could that have upon the power of Kings?

A. Do you not see, that by this the King must of necessity either want the priesthood, and therewith a great part of the reverence due to him from the most religious part of his subjects, or else want lawful heirs to succeed him: by which means, being not taken for the Head of the Church, he was sure in any controversy between him and the Pope, that his subjects would be against him.

B. Is not a Christian King as much a Bishop now, as the Heathen Kings were of old; for among them *Episcopus* was a name common to all Kings? Is not he a Bishop now, to whom God hath committed the charge of all the souls of his subjects, both of the Laity and the Clergy? And, though he be, in relation to our Saviour, (who is the chief Pastor.) but a sheep; yet, when he is compared to his own subjects, they are all sheep, both la-ic and cleric, and he only is their Shepherd. And, seeing that a Christian Bishop is but a Christian endued with power to govern the Clergy, it follows, that every Christian King is not only a Bishop, but an Archbishop, and his whole dominion is his diocese. And, though it were granted, that the Imposition of hands is necessary from a priest, yet seeing Kings have the government of the Clergy, that are his subjects, even before his baptism; the baptism itself wherein he is received as a Christian, is a sufficient Imposition of hands; so that, whereas, before his baptism he was a Bishop, he is now a Christian Bishop.

A. For my part, I agree with you. This prohibition of Marriage to Priests came in about the time of Pope Gregory VII. and William I. King of England; by which means the Pope had in England, (what with secular, and what with regular, Priests,) a great many lusty Batchelors in his service.

A second new Article of Faith of the same tendency, introduced by them, was, "That auricular Confession to a Priest was necessary to Salvation." 'Tis true, that before that time, Confession to a Priest was usual, and performed for the most part (by him that confessed) in writing; but that use was taken-away about the time of King Edward III. and Priests were commanded to take Confessions from the mouth of the Confitent: and men did generally believe, "that, without Confession and Absolution before their

Of Auricular Confession of Sins to a Priest.

departure out of the world, they could not be saved ;” and “ that, having Absolution from a Priest, they could not be damned.” You understand by this, how much every man would stand in awe of the Pope and Clergy, more than they would of the King ; and what an inconvenience it is to a State for their subjects to confess their secret thoughts to spies.

B. Yes ; as much as eternal torture is more terrible than death, so much they would fear the Clergy more than the King.

A. And, though perhaps the Roman Clergy will not maintain, that a Priest hath power to remit sins absolutely, but only with a condition of Repentance, yet the people were never so instructed by them ; but were left to believe, “ that whensoever they had Absolution, their precedent sins were all discharged, when their Penance, (which they took for Repentance,) was performed ”

The Doctrine of
Transubstantiation.

Within the same time began the Article of Transubstantiation. For it had been disputed a long time before “ in what manner a man did eat the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ,” as being a point very difficult for a man to conceive and imagine clearly. But now it was made very clear, that the Bread was transubstantiated into Christ’s body, and so was become no more Bread, but Flesh.

B. It seems then that Christ had many bodies, and was in as many places at once, as there were Communicants. I think the Priests then were so wanton, as to insult upon the dulness, not only of common people, but also of Kings and their Counsellors.

A. I am now in a narration, not in a disputation ; and therefore I would have you at this time to consider nothing else, but what effect this doctrine would work upon Kings and their subjects, in relation to the Clergy. “ who only were able, of a piece of bread to make our Saviour’s body, and thereby, at the hour of death, to save their souls.”

B. For my part, it would have an effect on me to make me think them Gods, and to stand in awe of them, as of God himself, if he were visibly present.

A. Besides these and other Articles tending to the upholding of the Pope’s authority, they had many fine points in their Ecclesiastical Polity, conducing to the same end ; of which I will mention only such as were established

within

within the same time. For then it was the order came-up of Preaching Friars, that wandered up and down with power to preach in what congregation they pleased, and were sure enough to instil into the people nothing that might lessen their obedience to the Church of Rome; but on the contrary, whatsoever might give advantage to it against the Civil Power. Besides they privately insinuated themselves with Women, and men of weak judgement, confirming their adherence to the Pope, and urging them in the time of their sickness, to be beneficial to it by contribution of Money, or building religious Houses, or pious works, and necessary for the remission of their sins.

The Institution of
Orders of Preaching
Friars.

B. I do not remember that I have read of any Kingdom, or State, in the world, where liberty was given to any private man to call the people together, and make orations frequently to them, or at all, without first making the State acquainted, except only in Christendom. I believe the heathen Kings foresaw, that a few such orators would be able to make a great sedition. Moses did indeed command to read the Scriptures, and expound them in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day. But the Scriptures then were nothing else but the laws of the nation delivered unto them by Moses himself; and I believe it would do no hurt, if the laws of England also were often read and expounded in the several congregations of Englishmen, at times appointed, that they may know what to do; for they know already what to believe.

A. I think that neither the preaching of Friars nor Monks, nor of parochial Priests, tended to teach men *what*, but *whom* to believe. For the power of the mighty hath no foundation, but in the opinion and belief of the people; and the end which the Pope had in multiplying sermons, was no other, but to prop and enlarge his own authority over all Christian Kings and States.

Within the same time, that is, between the time of the Emperor Charles the Great, and that of King Edward III. of England, began their Second Polity, which was to bring Religion into an Art, and thereby to maintain all the decrees of the Roman church by disputation; not only from the Scriptures, but also from the Philosophy of Aristotle; both moral and natural. And to that end the Pope exhorted

The Institution of
Universities, with
Schools of Disputa-
tion.

the said Emperor by letter to erect schools of all kinds of Literature : and from thence began the institution of Universities ; for, not long after, the Universities began in Paris and in Oxford. It is true, that there were Schools in England before that time, in several places, for the instruction of children in the Latin tongue, that is to say, in the tongue of the church : but, for an University of learning, there was none erected till that time ; though it be not unlikely that there might be then some Persons that taught Philosophy, Logic and other arts, in divers Monasteries, the Monks having little else to do, but to study. After some Colleges were built to that purpose, it was not long time before many more were added to them, by the devotion of Princes and Bishops, and other wealthy men : and the discipline therein was confirmed by the Popes that then were, and abundance of scholars were sent thither by their friends to study, as to a place, from whence the way was open and easy to preferment both in Church and Commonwealth. The profit the Church of Rome expected from them, and in effect received, was the maintenance of the Pope's doctrine, and of his authority over Kings, and their subjects, by School-divines, who, striving to make good many points of Faith that were incomprehensible, and calling in the Philosophy of Aristotle to their assistance, wrote great books of School-divinity, which no man else, nor they themselves, were able to understand ; as any man may perceive that shall consider the writings of Peter Lombard, or Scotus, or of him that wrote Commentaries upon him, or Suarez, or any other School-divine of later times. This kind of learning hath, nevertheless, been much admired by two sorts of men, who were otherwise prudent enough : the one of which sorts were of those that were already devoted, and really affectionate, to the Roman Church : for they believed the doctrine before ; but admired the arguments because they understood them not, and yet found the conclusions to their mind ; the other sort were negligent men, that had rather admire with others, than take the pains to examine. So that all sorts of people were fully resolved, both that the doctrine was true, and that the Pope's authority was no more than what was due to him.

B. I see that a Christian King, or State, how well soever

soever provided he be of money and arms (where the Church of Rome hath such authority). will have but a hard match for it, for want of men; for their subjects will hardly be drawn into the field, and fight with courage against their consciences.

A It is true, that rebellions have been raised by churchmen in the Pope's quarrel against Kings; (as, in England against King John, and in France against King Henry IV.) wherein the Kings had a more considerable part of the People on their sides, than the Pope had on his. And they will always have this Advantage, if they have money; for there are but few men whose consciences are so tender as to refuse money when they want it. But the great mischief done to Kings upon pretence of religion is, when the Pope gives power to one King to invade another.

B I wonder how King Henry VIII. could then so utterly extinguish the authority of the Pope in England; and that without any rebellion at home, or any invasion from abroad.

Of the Suppression of the Pope's Authority in England in the Reign of King Henry the 8th.

A First, The priests, monks, and friars, being in the height of their power, were now, for the most part, grown insolent and licentious; and thereby the force of their arguments was now taken-away by the scandal of their lives; which the gentry and men of good education easily perceived: and the Parliament, consisting of such persons, were therefore willing to take-away their power; and generally the common people, (which, from a long custom, had been in love with Parliaments,) were not displeased therewith.

Secondly, the doctrine of Luther beginning a little before, was now by a great many men of the greatest judgements so well received, as that there was no hope to restore the Pope to his power by rebellion. Thirdly, the revenue of Abbies, and all other religious houses falling hereby into the King's hands, and by him being disposed-of to the most eminent gentlemen in every county, could not but make them do their best to confirm themselves in the possession of them. Fourthly, King Henry was of a nature quick and severe in the punishing of such as should be the first to oppose his designs. Lastly, (as to invasion from abroad) in case the Pope had given the kingdom to another Prince, it had been in vain; for England is another

ther manner of kingdom than Navarre. Besides, the French and Spanish forces were employed at that time one against another : and though they had been at leisure, they would have found perhaps no better success, than the Spaniards found afterwards in 1588. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the insolence, avarice and hypocrisy of the then Clergy, and notwithstanding the doctrine of Luther, if the Pope had not provoked the King by endeavouring to cross his marriage with his second wife, his authority might have remained in England, till there had risen some other quarrel.

B. Did not the Bishops that then were, and had taken an oath, wherein was, amongst other things, that they should defend and maintain the regal rights of St. Peter ; the words are, *Regalia Sancti Petri*, (which nevertheless some have said are, *Regulas Sancti Petri*, that is to say, St. Peter's rules or doctrine ; and that the Clergy afterward did read it (being perhaps written in short-hand), by a mistake to the Pope's advantage, *Regalia* :) Did not, I say, the Bishops oppose that Act of Parliament against the Pope, and against the taking of the Oath of Supremacy ?

A. No ; I do not find that the Bishops did, many of them, oppose the King ; for, having no power without him, it had been great imprudence to provoke his anger. There was, besides, a controversy in those times between the Pope and the Bishops, most of which did maintain, that they exercised their Jurisdiction Episcopal in the right of God, as immediately as the Pope himself did exercise the same over the whole church. And, because they saw that, by this Act of the King in Parliament, they were to hold their power no more of the Pope, and never thought of holding it of the King, they were perhaps better content to let that Act of Parliament pass.

Of the Reformation
of Religion in the
Reign of King Ed-
ward the 6th.

In the reign of King Edward VI. the doctrine of Luther had taken so great root in England, that they threw-out also a great many of the Pope's new Articles of Faith ; which Queen Mary, succeeding him, restored again, together with all that had been abolished by Henry VIII. saving (that which could not be restored) the religious houses ; and the Bishops and clergy of King Edward were partly burnt for hereticks,
partly

partly fled, and partly recanted : and they that fled betook themselves to those places beyond sea, where the reformed religion was either protected, or not persecuted ; who, after the decease of Queen Mary, returned again to favour and preferment under Queen Elizabeth, that restored the religion of her brother King Edward : and so it hath continued till this day, excepting the interruption made in this late rebellion of the Presbyterians and other democratical men.

But, though the Romish religion were now cast out by the Law, yet there were abundance of people, and many of them of the Nobility, that still retained the religion of their ancestors ; who, as they were not much molested in points of conscience, so they were not by their own inclination very troublesome to the civil government. But, by the secret practice of the Jésuits, and other emissaries of the Roman Church, they were made less quiet than they ought to have been ; and some of them were induced to venture upon the most horrid act that ever had been heard-of before ; I mean the Gunpowder Treason. And upon that account, the Papists of England have, ever since, been looked-upon as men that would not be sorry for any disorders here that might possibly make way to the restoring of the Pope's authority ; and therefore I named them for one of the distempers of the State of England, in the time of our late King Charles.

B. I see that Monsieur du Plessis, and Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, writing of the progress of the Pope's power, and intituling their books, one of them, *The Mystery of Iniquity* ; the other, *The Grand Imposture*, were both in the right : for I believe there was never such another cheat in the world ; and I wonder that the Kings and States of Christendom never perceived it.

A. It is manifest that they did perceive it. How else durst they make war against the Pope, and some of them take him out of Rome itself, and carry him away prisoner ? But, if they would have freed themselves from his tyranny, they should have agreed together, and made themselves every one (as Henry VIII. did) Head of the Church within their own respective Dominions. But, not agreeing, they let his Power continue ; every one hoping to make Use
of

Of the Papists in the
Reigns of Queen Eli-
zabeth and King
James.

Of the Rise of the
Power of the Presby-
terians in England.

of it, when there should be Cause, against his Neighbour.

B. Now, as to that other Distemper by Presbyterians, how came their Power to be so great, being of themselves, for the most part, but so many poor scholars?

A. This Controversy between the Papists and the Reformed Churches, could not choose but make every Man, to the best of his Power, examine by the Scriptures “which of them was in the right;” and to that End the Scriptures were translated into vulgar Tongues; whereas, before, the Translation of them was not allowed, nor any Man permitted to read them, but such as had express Licence so to do; for the Pope did, concerning the Scriptures, the same that Moses did concerning Mount Sinai: Moses suffered no Man to go-up to it to hear God speak, or to gaze upon him, but such as he himself took with him: and the Pope suffered none to speak with God in the Scriptures, that had not some part of the Pope’s Spirit in him, for which he might be trusted.

B. Certainly Moses did therein very wisely, and according to God’s own Commandment.

A. No doubt of it; and the Event itself hath made it since appear so: for, after the Bible was translated into English, every Man,—nay every Boy and Wench,—that could read English, thought they spoke with God Almighty, and understood what he said; and, when, by a certain Number of Chapters a Day, they had read the Scriptures once or twice over, the Reverence and Obedience due to the Reformed Church here, and to the Bishops and Pastors therein, was cast-off, and every Man became a Judge of Religion, and an Interpreter of the Scriptures for himself.

B. Did not the Church of England intend it should be so? What other End could they have in recommending the Bible to me, if they did not mean I should make it the Rule of my Actions? else they might have kept it, (though open to themselves), to me sealed-up in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and fed me out of it in such Measure as had been requisite for the Salvation of my Soul, and the Church’s Peace.

A. I confess, this Licence of interpreting the Scripture
was

was the Cause of so many several Sects as have lain hid, till the beginning of the late King's Reign, and did then appear to the Disturbance of the Commonwealth. But, to return to the Story; those Persons who fled for Religion in the Time of Queen Mary, resided, for the most part, in Places where the Reformed Religion was professed, and governed by an Assembly of Ministers, who also were not a little made Use-of, for want of better Statesmen, in Points of Civil Government; which pleased so much the English and Scotch Protestants that lived amongst them, that, at their Return, they wished there were the same Honour and Reverence given to the Ministry in their own Countries; and in Scotland, (King James being then young,) they soon (with the Help of some of the powerful Nobility) brought it to pass. Also they that returned into England, in the Beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, endeavoured the same here; but could never effect it, till this last Rebellion, and, even then, not without the Help of the Scots: and it was no sooner effected, but they were defeated again by the other Sects, which, by the Preaching of the Presbyterians, and the private Interpretation of Scripture, were grown numerous.

B. I know indeed, that in the beginning of the late War, the Power of the Presbyterians was so very great, that not only the Citizens of London were, almost all of them, at their Devotion, but also the greatest Part of all other Cities and Market-Towns of England. But you have not yet told me "by what Art, and what Degrees, they became so strong."

A. It was not their own Art alone that did it; but they had the Concurrence of a great many Gentlemen, that did no less desire a popular Government in the Civil State, than these Ministers did in the Church; and, as these did, in the Pulpit, draw the People to their Opinions, and to a Dislike of the Church-Government, Canons, and Common-Prayer-Book, so did the others make them in Love with Democracy by their Harangues in the Parliament, and by their Discourses and Communication with People in the Country, continually extolling of Liberty, and inveighing against Tyranny; leaving the People to collect of themselves, that this Tyranny was the present Government

Government of the State: and, as the Presbyterians brought with them into their Churches their Divinity from the Universities, so did many of the Gentlemen bring their Politics from thence into the Parliament. But neither of them did this very boldly in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. And, though it be not likely that all of them did it out of malice, but many of them out of Error; yet certainly the chief Leaders were ambitious Ministers and ambitious Gentlemen; the Ministers envying the Authority of Bishops, whom they thought less learned; and the Gentlemen envying the Privy Council, whom they thought less wise, than themselves. For 'tis a hard Matter for Men who do all think highly of their own Wits (when they have also acquired the Learning of the University) to be persuaded, that they want any Ability requisite for the Government of a Commonwealth; especially having read the glorious Histories, and the sententious Politics, of the ancient popular Governments of the Greeks and Romans, amongst whom Kings were hated, and branded with the Name of Tyrants, and popular Government (though no Tyrant was ever so cruel as a popular Assembly) passed by the Name of Liberty. The Presbyterian Ministers in the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, did not (because they durst not) publicly preach against the Discipline of the Church; but not long after (by the Favour perhaps of some great Courtier)* they went abroad preaching into most of the Market-Towns of England, (as the preaching Friars had formerly done,) upon Working-days in the Morning: in which Sermons, those, and others of the same Tenets, that had Charge of Souls, both by the Manner and Matter of their Preaching, apply'd themselves wholly to the winning of the People to a liking of their Doctrines, and good opinion of their Persons.

The Manner of
preaching of the
Presbyterian Mini-
sters.

And, first, for the Manner of their Preaching. They framed their Countenance and Gesture at the Entrance into the Pulpit, and their Pronunciation, both in their Prayer and Sermon, and used the Scripture Phrase, (whether understood by the People or not,) so as that no Tragedian in the World could have acted the Part of a right-godly Man better than these did; insomuch that a Man unacquainted

* This seems to allude to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

with such Art, could never suspect any ambitious Plot in them, to raise Sedition against the State (as they then had designed) or doubt that the Vehemence of their Voice, (for the same Words with the usual Pronunciation would have been of little Force) and the Forcedness of their Gesture and Looks, could arise from any thing else, but Zeal to the Service of God. And by this Art they came into such Credit. that Numbers of Men used to go forth of their own Parishes and Towns, on Working-days, leaving their Calling, and on Sundays, leaving their own Churches, to hear them preach in other Places, and to despise their own, and all other Preachers that acted not so well as they: and, as for those Ministers that did not usually preach, but, instead of Sermons, did read to the People such Homilies as the Church had appointed, they esteemed and called them Dumb Dogs.

Secondly, For the Matter of their Sermons, because the Anger of the People against the late Roman Usurpation, was then fresh, they saw there could be nothing more gracious with them, than to preach against such other Points of the Romish Religion, as the Bishops had not yet condemned: that so, receding farther from Popery than the Bishops did, they might, with Glory to themselves, leave a Suspicion on the Bishops, as being Men not yet well-purged from Idolatry.

Thirdly, Before their Sermons, their Prayer was, or seemed to be, extempore, which they pretended to be dictated by the Spirit of God within them; and many of the People believed, or seemed to believe, it: for any Man might see, that had Judgement, that they did not take Care beforehand what they should say in their Prayers. And from hence came a dislike of the Common-Prayer-Book; which is a set Form premeditated, that Men might see to what they were to say Amen.

Fourthly, They did never in their Sermons, or but lightly, inveigh against the lucrative Vices of Men of Trade or Handicraft; such as are Feigning, Lying, Cozening, Hypocrisy, or other Uncharitableness, except want of Charity to their Pastors and to the faithful; which was a great Ease to the generality of Citizens, and the Inhabitants of Market-Towns, and no little Profit to themselves.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, By preaching up an Opinion, that Men were to be assured of their Salvation by the Testimony of their own private Spirit, meaning the Holy Ghost dwelling within them. And from this Opinion, the People that found in themselves a sufficient Hatred toward the Papists and an ability to repeat the Sermons of these Men at their coming Home, made no Doubt but that they had all that was necessary to their Salvation, how fraudulently and spitefully soever they behaved themselves to their Neighbours that were not reckoned amongst the Saints, and sometimes to those also who were thought worthy of that Appellation.

Sixthly, They did indeed with great Earnestness and Severity inveigh often against two Sins, carnal Lusts and vain Swearing; which without question was very well done. But the common People were thereby inclined to believe, that nothing else was Sin, but that which was forbidden in the third and seventh Commandments: for few Men do understand by the Name of Lust, any other Concupiscence than that which is forbidden in the seventh Commandment; (for Men are not ordinarily said to lust after another Man's Cattle, or other Goods, or Possessions.) and therefore they never made much Scruple of the Acts of Fraud and Malice, but endeavoured to keep themselves from Uncleanliness only, or, at least, from the Scandal of it. And, whereas they did, both in their Sermons and Writings, maintain and inculcate, that the very first Motions of the Mind, that were of that Tendency, that is to say, the Delight Men and Women took in the sight of one another's Form, (though they checked the proceeding thereof, so that it never grew up to be a design,) was nevertheless a Sin, they brought young Men into Desperation, and to think themselves damned, because they could not (which no Man can, and is contrary to the Constitution of Nature) behold a delightful Object without Delight: and by this Means they became Confessors to such as were thus troubled in Conscience, and were obeyed by them as their spiritual Doctors and Directors in all Cases of Conscience.

B. Yes, divers of them did preach frequently against Oppression.

A. 'Tis true, I had forgot that; but it was before such as were free enough from it. I mean the common People, their

who would easily believe themselves oppressed, but never Oppressors. And therefore you may reckon this amongst their Artifices, to make the People believe they were oppressed by the King, or, perhaps, by the Bishops, or by both; and incline the meaner Sort to their Party afterward, when there should be Occasion. But this was but sparingly done in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, whose Fear and Jealousy they were afraid-of. Nor had they as yet any great Power in the Parliament-House, whereby to call in Question her Prerogative by Petitions of Right, and other Devices; as they did afterwards, when democratical Gentlemen had received them into their Counsels, for the Design of changing the Government from Monarchical to Popular, which they called Liberty?

B. Who would think that such horrible Designs as these could so easily and so long remain covered with the Cloak of Godliness? For “that they were most impious Hypocrites” is manifest enough by the War these Proceedings ended in, and by the impious Acts in that War committed. But, when began first to appear in Parliament the Attempt of popular Government, and by whom?

A. As to the Time of attempting the Change of Government from Monarchical to Democratical, we must distinguish. They did not challenge *the Sovereignty* in plain Terms, and by that Name, till they had slain the King; nor did they challenge *the Rights* of the Sovereignty altogether by particular Heads, till the King was driven from London by Tumults (raised in that City against him), and had retired, for the Security of his Person, to York; where he had not been many Days, when they sent unto him nineteen * Propositions, whereof above a dozen were Demands of several Powers, essential parts of the Power Sovereign. But before that Time they had demanded some of them, in a Petition, which they called *a Petition of Right*, which nevertheless the King had granted them in a former Parliament, though he deprived himself thereby, not only of the Power to levy Money without their Consent, but also of his ordinary Revenue by Custom of Tonnage and Poundage, and of the Liberty to put into Custody such men as he thought likely to disturb the Peace, and raise Sedition in the

* These nineteen Propositions were presented to the King at York on the 2nd day of June, 1642. They are set-down at length in Mr. Thomas May's excellent History of the Long Parliament, Chapter iv. pages 124, 125, 126, and 127, of the late Edition in Quarto, published in the year 1811.

Kingdom. As for the Men that did this, 'tis enough to say they were the Members of the last Parliament, (which the King had dissolved on the 5th of May, 1640,) and of some other Parliaments in the Beginning of King Charles's, and in the End of King James's, reign; to name them all is not necessary, farther than the story shall require. Most of them were Members of the House of Commons; and there were some few that were Members of the House of Lords: but all of them, in both Houses, were such Persons as had a great Opinion of their own Sufficiency in Politicks, which they thought was not sufficiently taken Notice-of by the King.

B. How could the Parliament, when the King had a great Navy, and a great number of trained Soldiers, and all the Magazines of Ammunition in his Power, be able to begin the War?

A. The King had these Things, indeed, in his Right. But that signifies little; when they that had the Custody of the Navy and Magazines, and with them all the trained Soldiers, and in a Manner all his Subjects, were, (by the preaching of Presbyterian Ministers, and the seditious Whisperings of false and ignorant Politicians,) made his Enemies: And when the King could have no Money but what the Parliament should give him; which, you may be sure, should not be enough to maintain his Regal Power, which they intended to take from him.

Of the troubles in
Scotland in the Year
1637.

And yet I think they would never have adventured into the Field, but for that unlucky Business of imposing upon the Scots (who were all Presbyterians) our Book of Common-Prayer. For, I believe, the English would never have taken it well that the Parliament should make War upon the King upon any Provocation, unless it were in their own Defence, in case the King should, first, make War upon them; and therefore it behoved them to provoke the King, that he might do something that might look like Hostility. It happened in the Year 1637, that the King (by the Advice, as it is thought, of Dr. Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury), sent-down a Book of Common-Prayer into Scotland, (which did not differ in Substance from ours, nor much in Words, besides the putting of the Word Presbyter for that of Minister), commanding it to be used (for the sake of Conformity to the Church of this Kingdom) by the Ministers there, for an ordinary Form of divine Service.

This,

This, being read in the Church at Edinburgh*, caused such a Tumult there, that he that read it had much ado to escape with his Life; and it gave Occasion to the greatest Part of the Nobility and others to enter, by their own Authority, into a Covenant amongst themselves, (which impudently they called a *Covenant with God*), to put-down Episcopacy, without consulting with the King†. And this they presently did, being animated thereto by their own Confidence, or by assurances (from some of the Democratical Englishmen, that in former Parliaments had been the greatest Opposers of the King's Interest,) that the King would not be able to raise an Army to chastise them without calling a Parliament; which Parliament would be sure to favour them. For the Thing which those Democraticals chiefly then aimed-at, was to force the King to call a Parliament; which he had not done for ten Years before, as having received no Help, but, rather, Hindrance to his Designs, in the Parliaments he had formerly called. However, contrary to their Expectation, the King (by the Help of his better-affected Subjects of the Nobility and Gentry) made a Shift to raise a sufficient Army to have reduced the Scots to their former Obedience, if it had proceeded to a Battle: and, at the Head of this Army, he marched into Scotland, where the Scotch Army was also brought into the Field against him, as if they meant to fight. But then the Scots sent to the King for Leave to treat by Commissioners on both Sides; and the King, (willing to avoid the Destruction of his own Subjects,) condescended to it‡. The Issue was Peace; and the King thereupon went to Edinburgh, and passed an Act of Parliament there to their Satisfaction.

B. Did he not then confirm Episcopacy?

A. No, but yielded to the abolishing of it. But by this Means the English were crossed in their Hope of a Parliament. But the said Democraticals, who had formerly been Opposers of the King's Interest, ceased not to endeavour still to put the two Nations into a War; to the End that the King might be compelled to buy the Parliament's Help, at no less a Price than his Sovereignty itself.

B. But what was the Cause that the Gentry and Nobility of Scotland were so averse from the Episcopacy? For

The King raises an Army in England, and marches with it into Scotland to reduce the Scots to Obedience. In June, 1639.

But soon afterwards makes a Treaty of Peace, or Pacification, with them.

* On the 23d of July, 1637.

† This Covenant was not entered-into until the Month of February, 1637, and 38. See May's History of the Long Parliament, chapter iv. page 25.

‡ This Peace, or Pacification, was concluded on the 18th of June, 1639.

I can hardly believe that their Consciences were extraordinarily tender, nor that they were so very great Divines, as to know what was the true Church-Discipline established by our Saviour and his Apostles; nor yet so much in love with their Ministers, as to be over-ruled by them in the Government either Ecclesiastical or Civil; for in their Lives they were just as other Men are, Pursuers of their own Interests and Preferments, wherein they were not more opposed by the Bishops than by their Presbyterian Ministers.

A. Truly I do not know; I cannot enter into other Men's Thoughts farther than I am led by the Consideration of human Nature in general. But upon this Consideration I see, first, that Men of ancient Wealth and Nobility are not apt to brook, that poor Scholars should (as they must when those Scholars are made Bishops) be their Fellows. Secondly, That, from the Emulation of Glory between the two Nations, they might be willing to see this Nation afflicted by Civil War, and might hope, by aiding the Rebels here, to acquire some Power over the English, at least so far as to establish here the Presbyterian Discipline; which was also one of the Points they afterwards openly demanded. Lastly, They might hope for, in the War, some great Sum of Money, as a Reward for their Assistance, besides great Booty; which they afterwards obtained. But, whatsoever was the Cause of their Hatred to Bishops, the pulling of them down was not all they aimed-at: If it had (now that Episcopacy was abolished by Act of Parliament) they would have rested satisfied. But this they did not do; for, after the King was returned to London, the English Presbyterians and Democraticals, (by whose Favour they had put-down Bishops in Scotland,) thought it but reasonable that they should, in return, have the Assistance of the Scots, for the putting-down of Bishops in England. And, in order thereunto, they might, perhaps, deal with the Scots secretly, to rest unsatisfied with that Pacification, which they were before contented with. Howsoever it was, not long after the King was returned to London, they sent-up to some of their Friends at Court a certain Paper, containing (as they pretended) the Articles of the said Pacification*; which was a false and scandalous Paper, and, by the King's

Soon after this Treaty of Pacification the King returns to London, and there annuls it.

* Concerning this Pacification and Paper, see May's History of the Parliament, chapter 5, pages 84 and 85, and Ludlow's Letters, pages 125, 126, 127, 128, and 129.

Command, was burnt (as I have heard) publicly by the Hangman. And so both Parties returned to the same Condition they were in, when the King went-down with his Army.

B. And so there was a great deal of Money cast-away to no Purpose. But you have not told me who was General of that Army.

A. I told you that the King was there in Person: He that commanded under him was the Earl of Arundel, a Man that wanted not either Valour or Judgement. But "to proceed to Battle or to Treaty," was not in his Power, but in the King's.

B. He was a Man of a most noble and loyal Family, and whose Ancestors had formerly given a great Overthrow to the Scots, in their own Country: and in all likelihood he might have given them the like now, if they had fought.

A. He might indeed: but it had been but a kind of Superstition to have made him General upon that Account, though many Generals heretofore have been chosen for the good Luck of their Ancestors on like Occasions. In the long War between Athens and Sparta, a General of the Athenians by Sea won many Victories against the Spartans; for which Cause, after his Death, they chose his Son for General; but he had ill Success. And the Romans, (who had conquered Carthage by the Valour and Conduct of Scipio,) when they were about to make War again in Africa against Cæsar, chose another Scipio for their General, who was a Man valiant and wise enough; but he perished in the Employment. And, to come home to our own Nation, the Earl of Essex made a fortunate Expedition to Cadiz; but his Son, who was sent afterwards to the same Place, could do nothing. 'Tis but a foolish Superstition to hope that God has entailed Success in War upon a particular Name or Family.

B. After the Pacification broken, what succeeded next?

A. The King sent Duke Hamilton with a Commission and Instructions into Scotland, to call a Parliament there, and to use all the Means he could otherwise. But all was to no Purpose: for the Scots were now resolved to raise an Army, and to enter into England, to deliver, as they pretended, their Grievances to his Majesty in a Petition; because the (King, they said, being in the

The Scots resolve to raise another Army, and to march into England and deliver a Petition to the King.

Hands of evil Counsellors,) they could not otherwise obtain their Right. But the Truth is, they were animated to it by the Democratical and Presbyterian English, with a Promise of Reward, and the Hope of Piunder. Some have said, that Duke Hamilton also did rather encourage them to, than deter them from, the Expedition, as hoping, by the Disorder of the two Kingdoms, to bring to pass that which he had formerly been accused of having endeavoured, namely, to make himself King of Scotland. But I take this to have been a very uncharitable Censure, upon so little Ground, to judge so hardly of a Man, that afterwards lost his Life in seeking to procure the Liberty of the King, his Master.

The King calls a Parliament in England.
April 13, 1640.

This Resolution of the Scots to enter England being known, the King, wanting Money to raise an Army against them, was now (as his Enemies here in England wished) constrained to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster, on the 13th Day of April, 1640.

B. Methinks, a Parliament of England, if upon any Occasion, should, on this, have been willing to furnish the King with Money for a War against the Scots, out of an inveterate Disaffection to that Nation, that had always anciently taken part with their Enemies the French, and which always esteemed the Glory of England for an Abatement of their own.

A. 'Tis indeed commonly seen, that neighbour Nations envy one another's Honour, and that the less potent bears the greater Malice; but that hinders them not from agreeing in those Things, which their common Ambition leads them to. And therefore the King found not the more, but the less, help, from this Parliament; and most of the Members thereof, in their ordinary Discourses, seemed to wonder why the King should make a War upon Scotland: and in that Parliament sometimes called them *Their Brethren the Scots*. But, instead of taking the King's Business, (which was the raising of Money,) into their Consideration, they fell upon the redressing of Grievances, and especially such Ways of levying Money as, in the late Intermission of Parliaments, the King had been forced to use, such as were Ship-Money, and Money for Knighthood, and such other Vails (as one may call them) of the Regal Office, which Lawyers had found to be justifiable by the ancient Records of the Kingdom. Besides, they fell upon the
Actions

Actions of divers Ministers of State, though done by the King's own Command and Warrant ; insomuch, that before they were to come to the Business for which they were called, the Money which was necessary for this War (if they had given any, as they never meant to do) would have come too late. It is true, there was Mention of a Sum of Money to be given to the King, by Way of Bargain, for relinquishing of his Right to Ship-Money, and some other of his Prerogatives, but so seldom, and without determining any Sum, that it was in vain for the King to hope for any Success. And therefore, upon the 5th of May following, he dissolved it.

and dissolves it on
the 5th of May,
1640.

B. Where then did the King procure Money to raise and pay his Army ?

A. He was forced a second Time to make use of the Nobility and Gentry: who contributed, some more, some less, according to the Greatness of their Estates ; but, amongst them all, they made-up a very sufficient Army.

B. It seems then that the same Men that crossed his Business in the Parliament, now, out of Parliament, advanced it all they could. What was the Reason of that ?

A. The greatest part of the Lords in Parliament, and of the Gentry throughout England, were more affected to Monarchy than to a popular Government ; but so, as not to endure to hear of the King's absolute Power: Which made them, in Time of Parliament, easily condescend to abridge it, and bring the Government to a mixt Monarchy, as they called it, wherein the absolute Sovereignty should be divided between the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons*.

B. But how, if they cannot agree ?

A. I suppose they never thought of that ; but I am sure that they never meant the Sovereignty should be wholly, either in one or both Houses. Besides, they were loth to desert the King, when he was invaded by Foreigners ; for the Scots were esteemed by them as a foreign Nation.

B. It is strange to me, that England and Scotland (being but one Island, and their Language almost the same, and being governed by one King,) should be thought Foreigners to one another. The Romans were Masters of

* This seems to be a true account of the sentiments of the English Nobility and Gentry at this time ; but does not well agree with what our author tells us, in other passages of this Tract, of their inclination to a popular, or republican, form of Government.

many Nations, and, to oblige them the more to obey, by the Edicts and Laws sent unto them from the City of Rome, they thought fit to make them all Romans; and out of divers Nations, as the Inhabitants of Spain, Germany, Italy, and France, to advance some of them (whom they thought worthy of such Honour,) even to be Senators of Rome, and to give to every one of the common People the Privileges of the City of Rome, by which they were protected from the Contumelies of other Nations, where they resided. Why were not the Scots and English in like Manner united into one People?

A. King James, at his first coming to the Crown of England, did endeavour it, but could not prevail. But for all that, I believe the Scots have now as many Privileges in England, as any Nation had in Rome, of those which were, so as you say, made Romans; for they are all naturalized, and have Right to buy Land in England to themselves and their Heirs.

B. It's true of them that were born in Scotland after the Time that King James was in Possession of the Kingdom of England.

A. There be very few now that were born before that time. But why have they a better Right that were born after, than they that were born before?

B. Because they were born Subjects to the King of England, and the rest not.

A. Were not the rest born Subjects to King James? and was not he King of England?

B. Yes, but not then.

A. I understand not the Subtilty of that Distinction. But upon what Law is that distinction groundd? It there any Statute to that Purpose?

B. I cannot tell; I think not: but it is groundd upon Equity.

A. I see little Equity in this; that those Nations that are bound to equal Obedience to the same King, should not have equal Privileges. And now, seeing there be so very few born before King James's coming-in; what greater Privilege had those ingrafted Romans by their Naturalization in the State of Rome, or in the State of England the English themselves, more than the Scots.

B. Those Romans, when any of them were in Rome, had their Voice in the making of Laws.

A. And

A. And the Scots have their Parliaments, wherein their Assent is required to the Laws there made; which is as good. Have not many of the Provinces of France ther several Parliaments and several Constitutions? and yet they are all equally natural Subjects to the King of France: and therefore, for my part, I think they were mistaken, both English and Scots, in calling one another Foreigners. Howsoever that be, the King had a very sufficient Army, wherewith he marched towards Scotland, and by that Time he was come to York, the Scots Army was drawn-up to the Frontiers, and ready to march into England; which also they presently did, giving-out all the Way, that their March should be without Damage to the Country, and that their Errand was only to deliver a Petition to the King for the Redress of many pretended Injuries they had received from such of the Court, whose Counsel the King most followed. So they passed through Northumberland quietly, till they came to a Ford in the River of Tine, a little above Newcastle, where they found some little Opposition from a Party of the King's Army sent thither to stop them, whom the Scots easily mastered, and, as soon as they were over, seized upon Newcastle, and, coming farther on, they seized also upon the City of Dürham, and then sent to the King to desire a Treaty; which was granted, and the Commissioners on both Sides met at Rippon. The Conclusion was, that all should be referred to another Parliament, which the King should call to meet at Westminster, on the the third of November following, being in the same Year 1640; and thereupon the King returned to London.

B. So the Armies were disbanded?

A. No; the Scotch Army was to be defrayed by the Counties of Northumberland and Durham, and the King was to pay his own; till the disbanding of both should be agreed-upon in Parliament.

B. So, in Effect, both the Armies were to be maintained at the King's Charge, and the whole Controversy to be decided by a Parliament almost wholly Presbyterian, and as partial to the Scots as themselves could have wished.

A. And yet for all this they durst not presently make War upon the King. There was so much yet left of Reverence to him in the Hearts of the People, as to have made them odious, if they had declared what they intended: they

The King raised a second Army to make War against the Scots. In June, 1640.

The Scottish Army enters England, and takes Possession of Newcastle. In August. 1640.

A Treaty between the two Armies is concluded at Rippon, October 16, 1640.

In consequence of this Treaty the King calls another English Parliament, which meets on the 3d of November, 1640.

they must have some Colour, or other, to make it be believed, that the King made War first upon the Parliament; and besides, they had not yet sufficiently disgraced him in Sermons and Pamphlets, nor removed from about him those who, they thought, could best counsel him. Therefore they resolved to proceed with him like skilful hunters; first, to single him out by Men, disposed in all parts, to drive him into the open Field, and then, in Case he should but seem to turn Head, to call that a making of War against the Parliament.

The Proceedings of
this new Parliament.

And, first, they called in question such as had either preached or written in Defence of any of those Rights, which belonged to the Crown, and which they meant to usurp, and take from the King to themselves: whereupon some few Preachers and Writers were imprisoned, or forced to fly. The King not protecting these, the Parliament proceeded to call in question some of the King's own Actions in his Ministers; of whom they imprisoned some, and some went beyond Sea. And, whereas certain Persons (who had endeavoured, by Books and Sermons, to raise Sedition, and had committed other Crimes of a high Nature,) had therefore been censured by the King's Council in the Star-chamber, and imprisoned; the Parliament, by their own Authority, to try, it seems, how the King and People would take it, (for their Persons were inconsiderable) ordered them to be set at Liberty; which was accordingly done, with great Applause of the People; who flocked about them in London, in manner of a triumph. This being done without Resistance, the King's Right to Ship-Money——

Of the Tax called
Ship-Money.

B. Ship-Money! What's that?

A. The Kings of England, for the Defence of the Sea, had Power to tax all the Counties of England, (whether they were maritime or not) for the building and furnishing of Ships; which Tax the King had then lately found Cause to impose, and the Parliament exclaimed against it as an Oppression: and one of their Members,* that had been taxed but 20*s.* (mark the Oppression; a Parliament-man of 500*l.* a Year Land, taxed at 20*s.*) they were forced to bring it to a Trial at Law, he refusing Payment; and he was cast. Again, when all the Judges of Westminster-hall were demanded their Opinions concerning the Legality of

* John Hampden, Esquire, one of the Members for the County of Buckingham.

this tax, out of twelve Judges (which is their whole Number) it was judged to be legal by Ten : for which decision, though they were not punished, yet they were now affrighted by the Parliament.

B. What did the Parliament mean, when they did exclaim against it as illegal ? Did they mean it was against Statute-law, or against the Judgements of Lawyers given heretofore, which are commonly called Reports ; or did they mean it was against Equity, which I take to be the same with the Law of Nature ?

A. It is a hard matter, or rather impossible, to know what other Men mean, especially if they be crafty. But sure I am, that Equity was not their Ground for this Pretence of Immunity from contributing to the King, but at their own Pleasure : for when they have laid the Burthen of defending the whole Kingdom, and governing it, upon any Person whatsoever, there is very little Equity that he should depend on others for the Means of performing it ; for if he do, they are his Sovereign, not he theirs. And, as for the Common Law contained in Reports, they have no Force, but what the King gives them. Besides, it were more unreasonable, that a corrupt or foolish Judge's unjust Sentence, should by any Time, how long soever, obtain the Authority and Force of a Law. But amongst the Statute Laws there is one called *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter of the Liberties of Englishmen, in which there is one Article, wherein a King heretofore hath granted, That no Man shall be distrained, that is, have his Goods taken from him, otherwise than by the Law of the Land :

B. Is not that a sufficient Ground for their Purpose ?

A. No ; that leaves us in the same Doubt which you think it clears : for where was that Law of the Land then ? Did they mean another *Magna Charta*, that was made by some King more ancient yet ? No ; the Statute was made, not to exempt any Man from Payments to the Publick, but for securing of every Man from such as abused the King's Power by surreptitious obtaining the King's Warrants, to the oppressing of those against whom he had any Suit in Law. But it was conducing to the Ends of some rebellious Spirits in this Parliament to have it interpreted in the wrong Sense, and suitable enough to the Understanding of the rest, or most part of them, to let it pass ?

B. You

B. You make the Members of that Parliament very simple Men ; and yet the People chose them for the wisest of the Land.

A. If Craft be Wisdom, they were wise enough ; but Wise, as I define it, is he that knows how to bring his Business to pass (without the Assistance of Knavery and ignoble Shifts) by the sole Strength of his good Contrivance : A Fool may win from a better Gamester by the Advantage of false Dice, and packing of Cards.

B. According to your Definition there be few wise Men now-a-days ; such Wisdom is a Kind of Gallantry that few are brought-up to, and most think to be Folly. Fine Cloaths, Great Feathers, Civility towards Men that will not swallow Injuries, and Injury towards them that will, is the present Gallantry. But, when the Parliament afterwards, having gotten the Power into their Hands, levied Money for their own Use ; what said the People to that ?

A. What else, but that it was legal, and to be paid, as being imposed by Consent of Parliaments ?

B. I have heard often that they ought to pay what was imposed by Consent of Parliaments to the Use of the King ; but to their own Use, never before. I see by this, that it is easier to gull the Multitude, than any one Man amongst them : for what one Man (that has not his natural Judgement depraved by Accident) could be so easily cozened in a Matter that concerns his Purse, had he not been passionately carried-away by the rest to the Desire of a change of the Government, or, rather, of a Liberty of every one to govern himself ?

A. Judge then what Kind of Men such a Multitude of ignorant People were like to elect for their Burgesses and Knights of Shires.

B. I can make no other Judgement, but that they, who were then elected, were just such as had been elected for former Parliaments, and as are like to be elected for Parliaments to come : for the common People have been, and always will be, ignorant of their Duty to the Publick, as never meditating any Thing but their own particular Interest ; in other Things following their immediate Leaders ; which are either the Preachers, or the most potent of the Gentlemen that dwell amongst them ; as common Soldiers, for the most part, follow their immediate Captains, if they like them. If you think the late Miseries have made them
wiser,

wiser, that will quickly be forgot, and then we shall be no wiser than we were.

A. Why may not Men be taught their Duty, that is, the Science of Just and Unjust, as divers other Sciences have been taught, namely, from true Principles and evident Demonstration? and much more easily than any of those Preachers and Democratical Gentlemen could teach Rebellion and Treason?

The true Principles of Civil Government are capable of being taught in a demonstrative, or scientific, manner.

B. But who can teach what none have learned? Or, if any Man hath been so singular, as to have studied the Science of Justice and Equity; how can he teach it safely, when it is against the Interest of those, that are in Possession of the Power to hurt him?

A. The Rules of Just and Unjust (sufficiently demonstrated, and from Principles evident to the meanest Capacity) have not been wanting; and, notwithstanding the Obscurity of their Author, have shined*, not only in this, but also in foreign Countries, to Men of good Education. But these are few in respect of the rest of Men; whereof many cannot read; many, though they can, have no Leisure; and of them that have Leisure, the greatest part have their minds wholly employed and taken-up by their private Businesses, or Pleasures: So that it is impossible, that the Multitude should ever learn their Duty, but from the Pulpit and upon Holy-days: But then, and from thence it is, that they learned their Disobedience. And therefore the Light of that Doctrine has been hitherto covered and kept-under here by a Cloud of Adversaries, which no private Man's Reputation can break-through, without the Authority of the Universities. But out of the Universities came all those Preachers that taught the contrary to these Rules of the Science of Just and Unjust. The Universities have been as mischievous to this Nation, as the Wooden Horse was to the Trojans.

B. Can you tell me why, and when, the Universities here and in other Places first began?

A. It seems, as for the Time, that they began in the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Great; before which Time, I doubt not but that there were many Grammar-Schools for

Of the beginning of the Universities in Europe.

* Mr. Hobbes seems here to allude to his own great work on the Origin of Civil Government, intitled, *Leviathan; or the Matter, Form, and Power, of a Common-wealth.* By Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, 1651. In a small Folio Volume, containing 396 pages.

the Latin Tongue, which was the natural Language of the Roman Church: but for Universities, that is to say, Schools for the Sciences in general, and especially for Divinity, it is manifest, that the Institution of them was recommended by the Pope's Letter to the Emperor Charles the Great, and recommended farther by a Council held in his Time, I think, at Chalon sur Saone. And, not long after, was erected an University at Paris; and the College called University-College at Oxford: And so by Degrees several Bishops, Noblemen and rich Men, and some Kings and Queens, contributing thereunto, the Universities obtained at last their present Splendor.

B. But what was the Pope's Design in it?

A. What other Design was he like to have, but what you heard before, the Advancement of his own Authority in the Countries where the Universities were erected? There they learned to dispute for him, and with unintelligible Distinctions to blind Men's Eyes, whilst they encroached upon the Right of Kings; and it was an evident Argument of that Design, that they fell in hand with the Work so quickly. For the first Rector of the University of Paris, as I have read somewhere, was Peter Lombard, who first brought into them the Learning called School-Divinity; and was seconded by John Scot of Duns, who lived in, or near, the same Time; both of which celebrated Writers any ingenious Reader, (not knowing what was the Design,) would judge to have been two of the most egregious Blockheads in the World; so obscure and senseless are their Writings. And from these the Schoolmen that succeeded, learnt the Trick of imposing what they list upon their Readers, and declining the Force of true Reason by verbal Forks; I mean Distinctions that signify nothing, but serve only to astonish the Multitude of ignorant Men. As for the understanding Readers, they were so few, that these new sublime Doctors cared not what they thought. Those Schoolmen were to make good all the Articles of Faith, which the Popes, from time to time, should command to be believed: amongst which were very many inconsistent with the Rights of Kings, and other civil Sovereigns, as asserting to the Pope all Authority whatsoever that they should declare to be necessary, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, that is to say, in order to Religion.

Of Peter Lombard
and John Scot of
Duns.

From

From the Universities also it was, that all Preachers proceeded, and were poured out into City and Country to terrify the People into an absolute Obedience to the Pope's Canons and Commands; which, for fear of wakening Kings and Princes too much, they durst not yet call Laws.

From the Universities it was, that the Philosophy of Aristotle was made an Ingredient to Religion, as serving for a Salve to a great many of the absurd Articles, concerning the Nature of Christ's Body, and the Estate of Angels and Saints in Heaven; which Articles they thought fit to have believed, because they bring, some of them Profit, and others Reverence, to the Clergy, even to the meanest of them: for when they shall have made the People believe that "the meanest of them can make the Body of Christ," who is there that will not both shew them Reverence, and be liberal to them, or to the Church, especially in the Time of their Sickness, when they think they make and bring unto them their Saviour?

Of the Introduction of the Philosophy of Aristotle into the the Universities, as useful to the Study of Religion.

B. But what Advantage to them in these Impostures was the Doctrine of Aristotle?

A. They have made more Use of his Obscurity than of his Doctrine: for none of the ancient Philosophers Writings are comparable to those of Aristotle for their Aptness to puzzle, and entangle Men with Words, and to breed Disputation, which must at last be ended in the Determination of the Church of Rome. And yet in the Doctrine of Aristotle they made use of many Points; as, first, the Doctrine of separated Essences.

B. What are separated Essences?

A. Separated Beings.

B. Separated from what?

A. From every thing that is.

B. I cannot understand the Being of any Thing, which I understand not to be: but what can they make of that?

A. They make a great deal of it in Questions concerning the Nature of God, and concerning the Estate of Man's Soul after Death, in Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory; by which you, and every Man knows, how great Obedience, and how much Money, they gain from the common People. Whereas Aristotle holdeth the Soul of Man to be the
first

first Giver of Motion to the body, and consequently to itself; they make use of that in the Doctrine of Free-will. What, and how, they gain by that, I will not say.

He holdeth-forth, that there be many things that come to pass in this World from no Necessity of Causes, but mere Contingency, Casualty, and Fortune.

B. Methinks in this they make God stand idle, and to be a meer Spectator of the Games of Fortune; for “what God is the cause-of” must needs come to pass; and, in my Opinion, nothing else. But, because there must be some Ground for the Justice of the eternal torment of the Damned; perhaps it is this, that Men’s Wills and propensions are not (they think) in the Hands of God, but of themselves; and in this also I see somewhat conducing to the Authority of the Church.

A. This is not much; nor was Aristotle of such Credit with them, but that, when his opinion was against theirs, they could slight him. Whatsoever he says is impossible in Nature, they can prove well enough to be possible, from the Almighty Power of God, who can make many Bodies to be in one and the self-same Place, and one body to be in many Places, at the same Time, if the Doctrine of Transubstantiation require it; though Aristotle deny it. I like not the Design of drawing Religion into an Art, whereas it ought to be a Law; and, though not the same in all Countries, yet in every Country indisputable. Nor do I like, that, though they pretend to teach Religion as an Art, they do not teach it as Arts ought to be taught, namely, by shewing, first, the Meaning of their Terms, and then deriving from them the Truths they would have us believe. Nor do I like that their Terms are, for the most part, unintelligible; though (to make it seem rather want of Learning in the Reader, than want of fair-dealing in themselves) they are, for the most part, Latin and Greek words, wry’d a little, at the Point, towards the native Language of the several Countries, where they are used. But that which is most intolerable is, that all Clerks are forced to make as if they believed them, if they mean to have any Church-Preferment, the Keys whereof are in the Pope’s Hands; and the Common People, whatsoever they believe of those subtle Doctrines, are never esteemed better Sons of the Church for their Learning. There is but one way there to
Salvation,

Salvation, that is, extraordinary Devotion and Liberality to the Church, and Readiness for the Church's Sake, if it be required, to fight against their natural and lawful Sovereigns.

B. I see what use they make of Aristotle's Logic, Physics, and Metaphysics; but I see not yet how his Politics can serve their Turn.

A. Nor I. It has, I think, done them no good, though it has done us here much hurt by Accident. For Men, grown weary at last of the Insolence of Priests, and examining the Truth of these Doctrines that were put upon them, began to search the Sense of the Scriptures, as they are in the learned Languages, and consequently, studying Greek and Latin, became acquainted with the democratical Principles of Aristotle and Cicero, and, from the Love of their Eloquence, fell in love with their Politics, and that more and more, till it grew into the Rebellion we now talk-of, without any other Advantage to the Roman Church, but that it was a weakening of the English Nation, whom, (ever since we broke out of their Net, in the time of Henry VIII.) they have continually endeavoured to recover-back to their Communion.

B. What have they gotten by teaching of Aristotle's Ethics?

A. It is some Advantage to them, that neither the Morals of Aristotle, nor of any other, have done them any harm, nor us any good. Their Doctrines have caused a great deal of Dispute concerning Virtue and Vice, but no Knowledge of what they are, nor any Method of obtaining Virtue, nor of avoiding Vice.

The end of moral Philosophy is to teach Men of all sorts their Duty, both to the Publick and to one another. They estimate Virtue, partly by a mediocrity of the Passions of Men, and partly by that they are praised for their actions: whereas it is not the much or little Praise, bestowed upon it, that makes an Action virtuous, but the Cause; nor the much or little Blame bestowed upon it, that makes an Action vicious, but its being unconformable to the Laws, in such Men as (being Members of a Civil Society,) are subject to the Law, or its being unconformable to Equity, or Charity, in all Men whatsoever.

B. It seems you make a Difference between the Ethics of Subjects, and the Ethics of Sovereigns.

Of the virtues of
Subjects, or private
Persons.

A. So I do. The Virtue of a Subject is comprehended wholly in Obedience to the Laws of the Commonwealth. To obey the Law is Justice and Equity, which is the Law of Nature, and consequently is Civil Law in all Nations of the World : and nothing is Injustice or Iniquity otherwise than it is against the Law. Likewise to obey the Laws is the Prudence of a Subject ; for without such Obedience the Commonwealth (which is every Subject's Safety and Protection) cannot subsist. And, though it be Prudence also in private Men, justly and moderately to enrich themselves, yet craftily to withhold from the Publick, or defraud it of, such a Part of their Wealth as is by Law required, is no Sign of Prudence, but of want of Knowledge of what is necessary for their own Defence.

Of the virtues of
Sovereigns.

The Virtues of Sovereigns are such as tend to the Maintenance of Peace at Home, and to the Resistance of Foreign Enemies. Fortitude is a Royal Virtue ; and, though it be necessary in such private Men as shall be Soldiers, yet for other Men, the less they dare, the better it is, both for the Commonwealth, and for themselves. Frugality (though perhaps you will think it strange) is also a royal Virtue : for it increases the Publick Stock ; which cannot be too great for the Publick Use, nor any Man too sparing of what he has in Trust for the good of others. Liberality also is a royal Virtue : for the Commonwealth cannot be well served without extraordinary Diligence and Service of Ministers, and great Fidelity to their Sovereigns ; and therefore such Ministers ought to be encouraged, and especially those that do him Service in the Wars. In sum, all Actions and Habits are to be esteemed good or evil by their Causes and Usefulness, in reference to the Commonwealth, and not by their Mediocrity, nor by their being commended : for several Men praise several Customs ; and that which is Virtue with one is blamed by others, and contrarily what one calls Vice, another calls Virtue, as their present Affections lead them.

B. Methinks you should have placed amongst the Virtues that, which in my Opinion is the greatest of all Virtues, namely Religion.

A. So

A. So I have, though, it seems, you did not observe it. But whither do we digress from the way we were in?

B. I think you have not digressed at all : for I suppose your purpose was, to acquaint me with the History, not so much of those Actions that pass'd in the Time of the late Troubles, as of their Causes, and of the Counsels and Artifice by which they were brought to pass. There be divers Men that have written the History, out of whom I might have learned what they did, and somewhat also of the Contrivance ; but I find little in them of what I would ask. Therefore, since you were pleased to enter into this Discourse at my Request, be pleased also to inform me after my own Method ; and, for the Danger of Confusion that may arise from that, I will take care to bring you back to the Place from whence I drew you ; for I well remember where it was.

A. Well then ; To your Question concerning Religion ; inasmuch as I told you, that all Virtue is comprehended in Obedience to the Laws of the Commonwealth, whereof Religion is one, I have placed Religion amongst the Virtues. Of the nature of Religion.

B. Is Religion then the Law of a Commonwealth?

A. There is no Nation in the World, whose Religion is not established, and receives not its Authority from the Laws of that Nation. It is true, that the Law of God receives no Evidence from the Laws of Men ; but, because Men can never, by their own Wisdom, come to the Knowledge of what God hath spoken and commanded to be observed, nor be obliged to obey the Laws, whose Author they know not, they are to acquiesce in some human Authority or other. So that the Question will be, whether a Man ought in Matter of Religion, that is to say, when there is no Question of his Duty to God and the King, to rely upon the Preaching of their Fellow-Subjects, or of a Stranger, or upon the Voice of the Law ?

B. There is no great Difficulty in that Point. For there is none that preach, here or any where else, (or at least, that ought to preach,) but such as have Authority so to do from him, or them, that have the Sovereign Power ; so that, if the King gives us leave, you or I may as lawfully preach as any of them that do. And, I believe,

The Morals of the
Church of Rome.

we should perform that Office a great deal better than they that preached us into the late Rebellion.

A. The Church-Morals are in many Points very different from those that I have here set-down, for the Doctrine of Virtue and Vice; and yet without any Conformity with those of Aristotle. For in the Church of Rome the principal Virtues are, in the first place, "To obey their Doctrine, though it be Treason;" and that is *to be religious*: and secondly, "To be beneficial to the Clergy;" "That is their *Piety and Liberality*;" and thirdly, "To believe, upon their word, that which a man knows in his Conscience to be false;" which is *the Faith they require*. I could name a great many more such Points of their Morals, but that I know you know them already, being so well versed in the Cases of Conscience written by their Schoolmen, who measure the Goodness and Wickedness of all Actions, by their Congruity with the Doctrine of the Roman Clergy.

Of the Morals
taught by the
Church of England
Clergy.

B. But what is the Moral Philosophy of the Protestant Clergy in England?

A. So much as they shew of it in their Life and Conversation is, for the most part, very good, and of very good Example;—much better than their Writings.

B. It happens many times that Men live honestly for Fear, who, if they had Power, would live according to their own opinions; that is, (if their opinions be not right,) unrighteously.

A. Do the Clergy in England pretend (as the Pope does, or as the Presbyterians do,) to have a Right from God immediately to govern the King and his Subjects in all Points of Religion and Manners? If they do, you cannot doubt but that, if they had Numbers and Strength, (which they are never like to have;) they would attempt to obtain that Power, as the others have done.

B. I would be glad to see a System of the present Morals written by some Divine of good Reputation and Learning, and of the late King's party.

A. I think I can recommend unto you the best that is extant, and such as (except a few Passages that I mislike) is very well worth your reading. The Title of it is, *The whole Duty of Man, laid-down in a plain and familiar Way;*

Those Morals are
well laid-down in the
Book called *The
whole Duty of Man.*

Way ; and yet I dare say, that, if the Presbyterian Ministers, (even those of them which were the most diligent Preachers of the late Sedition,) were to be tried by it, they would go near to be found not Guilty. He has divided the Duty of Man into three great Branches, which are his Duty to God, to himself, and to his Neighbour. In his Duty to God he puts the Acknowledgement of him in his Essence and his Attributes, and in the believing of his Word : His Attributes are, Omnipotence, Omniscience, Infiniteness, Justice, Truth, Mercy, and all the rest that are found in Scripture. Which of these did not those seditious Preachers acknowledge equally with the best of Christians ? The Word of God are the Books of holy Scripture received for Canonical in England.

B. They receive the Word of God ; but it is according to their own Interpretation.

A. According to whose Interpretation was it received, by the Bishops and the rest of the loyal Party, but their own ? He puts for another Duty, Obedience and Submission to God's Will. Did any of them, nay, did any Man living, do any thing at any time against God's Will ?

B. By God's Will I suppose he means there his revealed Will, that is to say, his Commandments ; which I am sure they did most horribly break, both by their preaching and otherwise.

A. As for Actions, there is no doubt but all Men are guilty enough (if God deal severely with them) to be damned. And for their preaching, they will say they thought it agreeable to God's revealed Will in the Scriptures : and, if they thought it so, it was not Disobedience, but Error ; and how can any Man prove they thought otherwise ?

B. Hypocrisy hath this great Prerogative above other Sins, that it cannot be accused.

A. Another Duty he sets-down is, to honour him in his House, (that is the Church,) in his Possessions, in his Day, in his Word and Sacraments.

B. They perform this Duty as well (I think) as any other Ministers : I mean, the loyal party, and the Presbyterians have always had an equal care to have God's House free from Profanation ; To have Tithes duly paid, and

Offerings accepted ; To have the Sabbath-day kept holy, the Word preached, and the Lord's Supper and Baptism duly administered. But is not keeping of the Feasts and of the Fasts one of those Duties that belong to the Honour of God ? If it be, the Presbyterians fail in that.

A. Why so ? They kept some Holy-days, and they had Fasts amongst themselves, though not upon the same Days that the Church ordains, but when they thought fit ; as when it pleased God to give the King any notable Victory ; and they governed themselves in this Point by the holy Scripture, as they pretend to believe ; and who can prove they do not believe so ?

B. Let us pass over all other Duties, and come to that which we owe to the King, and consider whether the Doctrine taught by those Divines which adhered to the King be such, in that Point, as may justify the Presbyterians, that incited the People to Rebellion. For that is the thing you call in Question.

A. Concerning our Duty to our Rulers, he hath these Words An Obedience we must pay, either active or passive ; the active, in case of all lawful Commands, that is, whenever the Magistrate commands something which is not contrary to some command of God, we are then bound to act according to that Command of the Magistrate, to do the Things he requires. But, when he enjoins any thing contrary to what God hath commanded, we are not then to pay him this active Obedience ; we may, nay we must, refuse thus to act, (yet here we must be very well assured that the thing is so contrary, and not pretend Conscience for a cloak of Stubbornness) we are in that case to obey God rather than Men. But even this is a Season for the passive Obedience ; we must patiently suffer what the Magistrate inflicts on us for such Refusal, and not, to secure ourselves, rise-up against him.

B. What is there in this to give colour to the late Rebellion ?

A. They will say they did it in Obedience to God, inasmuch as they did believe it was according to the Scripture : out of which they will bring Examples, perhaps, of David and his Adherents, that resisted King Saul ;—and of the Prophets afterwards, that vehemently, from time to

Of the Duty of
Active Obedience to
the Civil Magistrate.

Of the Duty of
Passive Obedience.

time,

time, preached against the idolatrous Kings of Israel and Judah. Saul was their lawful King : and yet they paid him neither active nor passive Obedience. For they did put themselves into a posture of defence against him, though David himself spared his person ; and so did the Presbyterians put into their Commissions to their General, that they should spare the King's person. Besides you cannot doubt but that they, who in the pulpit, did animate the people to take Arms in defence of the then Parliament, alledged Scripture, that is, the Word of God, for it. If it be lawful then for Subjects to resist the King, when he commands any thing that is against the Scripture, that is, contrary to the command of God, and to be Judge of the Meaning of the Scripture, it is impossible that the Life of any King, or the Peace of any Christian Kingdom, can be long secure. It is this Doctrine that divides a Kingdom within itself, whatsoever the Men be, Loyal, or Rebels, that write or preach it publickly. And thus you see, that if those seditious Ministers be tried by this Doctrine, they will come-off well enough.

B. I see it ; and wonder at People that, having never spoken with God Almighty, nor knowing, one more than another, what he hath said, when the Laws and the Preacher disagree, should so keenly follow the Minister, (who is, for the most part, an ignorant, though a ready-tongu'd, Scholar,) rather than the Laws that were made by the King, with the Consent of the Peers and the Commons of the Land.

A. Let us examine his Words a little nearer : First, concerning passive Obedience. When a Thief hath broken the Laws ; and, according to the Law, is therefore executed : can any Man understand, that this Suffering of his is an Obedience to the Law ? Every Law is a command to do, or to forbear ; neither of these is fulfilled by suffering. If any Suffering can be called Obedience, it must be such as is voluntary ; for no involuntary Action can be counted a Submission to the Law. He that means that his suffering should be taken for Obedience, must not only not resist, but also not fly, nor hide himself, to avoid his Punishment. And who is there, amongst them that discourse of Passive Obedience, that, when his Life is in extreme Danger, will voluntarily present himself to the Officers

of Justice? Do not we see that all Men, when they are led to Execution, are both bound and guarded, and would break-loose, if they could, and get-away? Such is their Passive Obedience. Christ saith, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's Chair: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do*, Matt. xxiii. 3. which is a doing an active Obedience: and yet the Scribes and Pharisees appear not, by the Scripture, to have been such Godly Men, as never to command any thing against the revealed Will of God.

B. Must Tyrants also be obeyed in every thing actively? Or is there nothing wherein a lawful King's Command may be disobeyed? What, if he should command me with my own Hands to execute my Father, in case he should be condemned to die by the Law?

A. This is a Case that need not be put. We have never read, nor heard, of any King, or Tyrant, so inhuman as to command it. If any did, we are to consider whether that Command were one of his Laws: for by disobeying Kings, we mean the disobeying of his Laws; Laws, those his Laws that were made before they were applied to any particular Person: for the King, (though he is sometimes considered as a Father of Children, and a Master of Domestic Servants,) yet he commands the People in general never but by a precedent Law, and as a politic, not a natural, Person. And, if such a Command as you speak of were contrived into a general Law, (which, however, never was, nor ever will be) you would be bound to obey it, unless you departed the Kingdom after the Publication of the Law, and before the Condemnation of your Father.

B. Your Author says farther, in refusing Active obedience to the King that commanded any thing contrary to God's Law, we must be very well assured that the thing is so contrary. I would fain know how it is possible to be so assured?

A. I think you do not believe that any of those Refusers do, immediately from God's own Mouth, receive any Command contrary to the Command of the King, (who is God's Lieutenant,) nor any other Way than you and I do; that is to say, than by the Scriptures. And, because Men do, for the most part, rather draw the Scrip-
ture

ture to their own Sense, than follow the true Sense of the Scripture, there is no other Way to know certainly, and in all Cases, what God commands, or forbids us to do, but by the Sentence of him, or them, that are constituted by the King to determine the Sense of the Scripture upon hearing of the particular Case of Conscience, which is in question. And they that are so constituted are easily known in all Christian Commonwealths, whether they be Bishops, or Ministers, or Assemblies, that govern the Church under him, or them, that have the Sovereign Power.

B. Some Doubts may be raised from this that you now say. For, if Men be to learn their Duty from the Sentence which other Men shall give, concerning the Meaning of the Scriptures, and not from their own Interpretation; I understand not to what End they were translated into English, and every Man was, not only permitted, but also exhorted, to read them. For, what could that produce but Diversity of Opinions, and consequently (as Man's Nature is) Disputation, Breach of Charity, Disobedience, and, at last, Rebellion? Again, since the Scripture was allowed to be read in English, why were not the Translations such as might make all that's read be understood, even by mean Capacities? Did not the Jews, such as could read, understand their Law in the Jewish Language, as well as we do our Statute-Laws in English? And, as for such Places of the Scripture, as had nothing of the nature of a Law, it was nothing to the Duty of the Jews, whether they were understood or not, seeing that nothing is punishable, but the Transgression of some Law.

The same Question I may ask concerning the New Testament: for I believe, that those Men to whom the original Language was natural, did understand sufficiently what Commands and Counsels were given them by our Saviour and his Apostles, and his immediate Disciples. Again; how will you answer that Question which was put by St. Peter and St. John, Acts iv. 11. when by Annas the High Priest, and others of the Council of Jerusalem, they were forbidden to teach any more in the Name of Jesus? *Whether is it right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God?*

A. The

A. The Case is not the same. Peter and John had seen, and daily conversed with our Saviour, and, by the Miracles he wrought, did know he was God, and consequently knew certainly, that their Disobedience to the High Priest's present Command was just. Can any Minister now say, that he hath immediately, from God's own mouth, received a Command to disobey the King, or know otherwise, than by the Scripture, that any Command of the King, that hath the form and Nature of a Law, is against the Law of God, which in divers places directly and evidently commandeth to obey him in all things: The Text you cite does not tell us, that a Minister's Authority, rather than a Christian King's, shall decide the Questions that arise from the different Interpretations of the Scripture. And therefore, where the King is Head of the Church, and by Consequence (to omit, that the Scripture itself was not received, but by the Authority of Kings and States) chief Judge of the Rectitude of all Interpretations of Scripture, to obey the King's Laws and publick Edicts, is not to disobey, but to obey God. A Minister ought not to think, that his skill in the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew Tongues, if he have any, gives him a Priviledge to impose upon all his Fellow-Subjects in his own Sense, or what he pretends to be his Sense, of every obscure place of Scripture; nor ought he, as oft as he hath found-out some fine interpretation, not before thought-on by others, to think he had it by Inspiration: for he cannot be assured of that; no, nor that his Interpretation, (as fine as he thinks it,) is not false; and then all his Stubbornness and Contumacy toward the King, and his Laws, is nothing but Pride of Heart and Ambition, or else imposture. And, whereas you think it needless, or perhaps hurtful, to have the Scriptures in English, I am of another Mind. There are so many Places of Scripture easy to be understood, that teach both true faith, and good Morality, and that as fully as is necessary to Salvation; of which no Seducer is able to dispossess the mind of any ordinary reader: and the reading of them is so profitable, as not to be forbidden without great Damage to them and the Commonwealth.

N. B.

B. All that is required, both in Faith and Manners, for
Man's

Man's Salvation, is, I confess, set-down in Scripture, as plainly as can be. *Children, obey your Parents, in all Things : Servants obey your Masters : Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, whether it be the King or those that are sent by him : Love God with all your-Soul, and your Neighbour as yourself :* are words of Scripture, which are well enough understood : but neither Children, nor the greatest part of Men, do understand *why* it is their Duty to do so. They see not that the Safety of the Commonwealth, and consequently their own depends upon their doing it. Every Man by Nature, without Discipline, does, in all his Actions, look upon, as far as he can see, the Benefit that shall redound to himself from his Obedience. He reads "that Covetousness is the root of all Evil;" but he thinks, and sometimes finds, it is the root of his Estate. And so in other Cases, the Scripture says one thing, and they think another ; weighing the Commodities, or Incommodities, of this present Life only, which are in their Sight; but never putting into the Scales the Good and Evil of the life to come, which they see not.

A. All this is no more than happens where the Scripture is seal'd-up in Greek and Latin, and the People taught the same things out of them by Preachers.

But they that are of a Condition and Age fit to examine the Sense of what they read, and that take a Delight in searching-out the Grounds of their Duty, certainly cannot chuse but, by their reading of the Scriptures, come to such a Sense of their Duty, as not only to obey the Laws themselves, but also to induce others to do the same : for commonly Men of Age and Quality are followed by their inferiour Neighbours; who look more upon the Example of those Men whom they reverence, and whom they are unwilling to displease, than upon Precepts and Laws.

B. These Men of the Condition and Age you speak-of, are, in my Opinion, the unfittest of all others to be trusted with the reading of the Scriptures. I know you mean such as have studied the Greek or Latin, or both Tongues, and that are withal such as love Knowledge, and consequently take Delight in finding-out the Meaning of the most hard Texts, or in thinking they have found it, in case it be new, and not found-out by others. These are therefore

The obscure passages in the Bible which are the subjects of controversies amongst Divines, are not fit matter for the sermons of public preachers.

therefore they, that pretermittting the easy Places, which teach them their Duty, fall to scanning only of the Mysteries of Religion; as, How it may be made-out with Wit, that there be three that bear Rule in Heaven, and those Three but One? How the Deity could be made Flesh? How that Flesh could be really present in many Places at once? Where is the Place, and what the Torments of Hell, and other metaphysical Doctrines? Whether the Will of Man be free, or governed by the Will of God? Whether Sanctity comes by Inspiration or Education? By whom Christ now speaks to us? Whether by the King, or by the Clergy, or by the Bible, to every Man that reads it and interprets it to himself, or by a private Spirit to every private Man? These and the like Points are the Study of the Curious, and the Cause of all our late Mischief; and the Cause that makes the plainer sort of Men, whom the Scripture had taught Belief in Christ, Love towards God, Obedience to the King, and Sobriety of Behaviour, forget it all, and place their Religion in the disputable Doctrines of these your wise Men.

A. I do not think these Men fit to interpret the Scripture to the rest, nor do I say that the rest ought to take their Interpretation for the Word of God. Whatsoever is necessary for them to know is so easy, as not to need Interpretation. Whatsoever is more does them no good. But in case any of those unnecessary Doctrines shall be authorized by the Laws of the King, or other State, I say it is the Duty of every Subject not to speak against them; inasmuch as it is every Man's Duty to obey him or them that have the Sovereign Power; and it is the Wisdom of all such Powers to punish such as shall publish, or teach, their private Interpretations, when they are contrary to the Law, and likely to incline men to Sedition, or disputing against the Law.

B. They must punish then the most of those that have had their Breeding in the Universities. For such curious Questions in Divinity are first started in the Universities; and so are all those politic Questions concerning the Rights of Civil and Ecclesiastical government: and there they are furnished with Arguments for Liberty out of the Works
of

of Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and out of the Histories of Rome and Greece, for their Disputation against the necessary Power of their Sovereigns. Therefore I despair of any lasting Peace among ourselves till the Universities here shall bend and direct their Studies to the settling of it, that is, to the teaching of absolute Obedience to the Laws of the King, and to his publick Edicts under the great Seal of England. For I make no Doubt, but that solid Reason, back'd with the Authority of so many learned Men, will more prevail for the keeping of us in Peace within ourselves, than any Victory can do over the Rebels. But I am afraid that it is impossible to bring the Universities to such a Compliance with the Actions of State, as is necessary for the Business.

A. Seeing the Universities have heretofore, from time to time, maintained the Authority of the Pope, contrary to all Laws, Divine, Civil, and Natural, against the Rights of our Kings, why can they not as well, when they have all manner of Laws and Equity on their Side, maintain the Rights of him that is both Sovereign of the Kingdom, and Head of the Church?

B. Why then were they not in all Points as zealous in the support of the King's Power, presently after that King Henry VIII. was in Parliament declared Head of the Church, as they had been before in the support of the Authority of the Pope?

A. Because the Clergy in the Universities, by whom all things there are governed, and the Clergy without the Universities, as well Bishops as inferiour Clerks, did think that the pulling-down of the Pope was the setting-up them (as to England) in his Place, and made no Question (the greatest part of them) but that their spiritual Power did depend, not upon the Authority of the King, but of Christ himself, derived to them by a successive Imposition of Hands from Bishop to Bishop, notwithstanding they knew that this Derivation passed through the Hands of Popes and Bishops; whose Authority they had cast-off. For, though they were content that the Divine Right, which the Pope pretended to in England, should be deny'd him; yet they thought it not so fit to be taken from the Church of England, whom they now supposed themselves to represent.

The Clergy of the Church of England, after the abolition of the Pope's Authority in England, pretended to have themselves some Spiritual Authority transmitted to them from the Apostles.

It

It seems they did not think it reasonable that a Woman or a Child, or a Man that could not construe the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin Bible, nor know perhaps the Declensions and Conjugations of Greek or Latin Nouns and Verbs, should take upon him to govern so many learned Doctors in Matters of Divinity; for Religion has been for a long time, and is now by most People, taken for the same thing with Divinity, to the great Advantage of the Clergy.

B. And especially now amongst Presbyterians; for I see few that are by them esteemed very good Christians, besides such as can repeat their Sermons, and wrangle for them about the Interpretation of the Scripture, and fight for them also with their Bodies or Purses, when they shall be required. To believe in Christ is nothing with them, unless you believe as they bid you: Charity is nothing with them, unless it be Charity and Liberality to them, and partaking with them in Faction. How we can have Peace while this is our Religion, I cannot tell. *Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.* The seditious Doctrine of the Presbyterians has been stuck so hard in the People's Heads and Memories, (I cannot say into their Hearts; for they understand nothing in it, but that they may lawfully rebel) that I fear the Commonwealth will never be cured.

A. The two great Virtues that were severally in Henry VII. and Henry VIII. when they shall be jointly in one King, will easily cure it. That of Henry VII. was, without much noise of the People to fill his Coffers; that of Henry VIII. was an early Severity; but this without the former cannot be exercised.

B. This that you say, looks (methinks) like an Advice to the King, to let them alone till he have gotten ready Money enough to levy and maintain a sufficient Army, and then to fall upon them, and destroy them.

A. God forbid that so horrible, unchristian, and inhuman a Design should ever enter into the King's Heart! I would have him have money enough, readily to raise an Army able to suppress any Rebellion, and to take from his Enemies all Hope of Success; to the end that they may not dare to trouble him in the Reformation of the Universities. But I would have him to put none of them to Death without the actual committing such

crimes

crimes as are already made capital by the Laws. The Core of Rebellion, (as you have seen by this, and read of other Rebellions,) is in the Universities; which, nevertheless, are not to be cast-away, but to be better disciplined; that is to say, that the Politics there taught be made to be as true Politics should be) such as are fit to make Men know that it is their Duty to obey all Laws whatsoever that shall, by the Authority of the King, be enacted, till, by the same Authority, they shall be repealed;—such as are fit to make Men understand, that the Civil Laws are God's Laws, as they that make them are appointed by God to make them; and to make men know, that the people and the church are one Thing, and that no man has Title to govern under him. That the King owes his Crown to God only, and to no Man, Ecclesiastic, or other; and that the Religion they teach there, be a quiet waiting for the coming-again of our Blessed Saviour; and, in the mean time, a resolution to obey the King's Laws, (which also are God's Laws,) to injure no man, to be in charity with all Men, to cherish the Poor and Sick, and to live soberly and free from Scandal. Without mingling our Religion with points of natural Philosophy, as Freedom of Will, incorporeal Substance, everlasting Nows, Ubiquities, and Hypostases; which are subjects that the people understand not, nor will ever care-for. When the Universities shall be thus disciplin'd, there will come out of them, from time to time, well-principled Preachers, and they that are now ill-principled, from time to time, will fall-away.

B. I think it a very good course to take, and, perhaps, the only one, that can make our peace amongst ourselves be lasting. For, if Men know not their duty, what is there that can force them to obey the laws? An Army, you'll say; but what shall force the Army? Were not the Trainbands an Army? Were not the men that, not very long ago, slew the Turkish Sultan, Osman, in his own Palace at Constantinople, his own Janissaries? I am therefore of your Opinion, both that men may be brought to a love of obedience by preachers and gentlemen that imbibe good principles in their youth at the Universities, and also, that we never shall have a lasting Peace, till the Universities themselves

The useful branches of knowledge that ought to be taught in the Universities.

themselves be, in such Manner as you have said, reformed; and the Ministers know they have no authority but what the Supreme civil power gives them, and the Nobility and Gentry know that the liberty of a State is not an Exemption from the laws of their own country, made by an Assembly, or by a Monarch; but an Exemption from the Constraint and Insolence of their Neighbours.

And now I am satisfied in this point, I will bring you back to the place, from whence my Curiosity drew you to this long Digression.

We were upon the point of Ship-money, one of those Grievances which the Parliament exclaimed-against as tyrannical and arbitrary Government, thereby to single-out (as you call it) the King from his Subjects, and to make a party against him, when they should need it. And now you may proceed, if it please you, to such other Artifices as they used to the same purpose.

A. I think it were better to give-over here our Discourse of this Business, and refer it to some other Day that you shall think fit.

B. Content. That Day, I believe, is not far off.

BEHEMOTH.

PART II.

A. YOU are welcome ; yet, if you had stayed somewhat longer, my Memory would have been so much better provided for you.

B. Nay, I pray you give me now what you have about you ; for the rest, I am content you take what time you please.

A. After the Parliament had made the People believe, that the exacting of Ship-Money was unlawful, and the People thereby inclined to think it tyrannical ; in the next Place, to increase their Disaffection to his Majesty, they accused him of a Purpose to introduce and authorize the Roman Religion in this Kingdom, than which nothing was more hateful to the People ; not because that Religion was erroneous (which the People had neither Learning nor Judgement enough to examine), but because they had been used to hear it inveighed against in the Sermons and Discourses of the Preachers whom they trusted to : and this was indeed the most effectual Calumny to alienate the People's Affections from the King, that could possibly be invented. The Colour they had for this Slander was, first, that there was one *Rosetti*, Resident (at, and a little before, that Time) from the Pope, with the Queen, and one Mr. *George Con*, (Secretary to the Cardinal Francisco Barberini, who was Nephew to Pope Urban VIII.) who had been sent over, under the Favour and Protection of the Queen (as was conceived) in order to draw as many Persons of Quality about the Court as he should be able, to reconcile themselves to the Church of Rome. With what Success he carried on this Design, I cannot tell : but it is likely he gained some converts, especially of the weaker Sex ; if I may say, that they

The King is accused of favouring the Popish Religion.

were gained by him, when, not his Arguments, but 'the Hope of Favour from the Queen, in all Probability prevailed upon them.

B. In such a Conjunction as that was, it would, perhaps, have been better that they had not been sent.

A. There was an Exception also taken at a Convent of *Fryars, Capuchins*, in Somerset-House; though this had been allowed by the Articles of the King's Marriage: and it was reported that the Jesuits also were shortly after to be allowed to have a Convent in Clerkenwell: and, in the mean time, the principal Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebank, was accused for having, by his Warrant, set at Liberty some English Jesuits, that had been taken and imprisoned, for returning into England after Banishment, contrary to the Statute which had made such Return a capital Crime. Also the Resort of English Catholicks to the Queen's Chapel gave them Colour to blame the Queen herself, not only for that, but also for all the Favours that had been shewn to the Catholicks; insomuch that some of them did not stick to say openly, that the King was governed by her.

B. Strange Injustice! The Queen was a Catholick by Profession, and therefore could not but endeavour to do the Catholicks all the Good she could; she would not else have been truly that which she professed to be: but it seems they meant to force her to Hypocrisy, being Hypocrites themselves. Can any Man think it a Crime in a devout Lady, of what Sect soever, to seek the Favour and Benediction of that Church whereof she is a Member?

Of the Controversy
between the Episcopal
and the Presbyterian
Clergy concerning the
Opinions of *Arminius*.

A. To give the Parliament another Colour for their Accusation on Foot of the King, as to introducing of Popery, there was a great Controversy between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy about Free-will. The Dispute began first in the Low-Countries, between *Gomar* and *Armin*, in the Time of King James; who, foreseeing it might trouble the Church of England, did what he could to compose the Difference: And an Assembly of Divines was thereupon got-together at Dort, to which also King James sent a Divine or two. But it came to nothing; the Question was left undecided, and became a Subject to be disputed of in the Universities here. All the Presbyterians were of the same mind with *Gomar*; but a very great
many

many others not; and those were called here *Arminians*; who, (because the Doctrine of Free-will had been exploded as a Papistical Doctrine, and because the Presbyterians were far the greater Number, and already in Favour with the People) were generally hated. It was easy therefore for the Parliament to make that Calumny pass currently with the People, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, was for Arminius, and had, a little before, by his Power Ecclesiastical, forbidden all Ministers to preach to the People of Predestination; and when all Ministers that were gracious with him, and hoped for any Church-Preferment, fell to preaching and writing for Free-will to the uttermost of their Power, as a Proof of their Ability and Merit. Besides, they gave-out (some of them), that the Archbishop was in his Heart a Papist; and, in case he could effect a Toleration here of the Roman Religion, was to have a Cardinal's Hat; which was not only false, but also without any Ground at all for Suspicion.

Archbishop Laud
was a favourer of the
Arminians.

B. It is a strange Thing, that Scholars, obscure Men, that could receive no Clarity but from the Flame of the State, should be suffered to bring their unnecessary Disputes, and, together with them, their Quarrels, out of the Universities into the Commonwealth; and more strange, that the State should engage in their Parties, and not rather put them both to silence. A State can enforce Obedience, but cannot confute an Error, nor alter the mind of them that believe they have the better Reason on their Side. Suppression of Doctrines does but unite and exasperate; that is, increase both the Malice and the Power of those who have already believed them. But what are the Points they disagree in? Is there any Controversy between Bishop and Presbyterian concerning the Divinity or Humanity of Christ? Do either of them deny the Trinity, or any Article of the Creed? Does either Party preach openly, or write directly against Justice, Charity, Sobriety, or any other Duty necessary to Salvation; except only the Duty to the King, and not that neither, but when they have a Mind either to rule, or destroy the King? Lord have Mercy upon us! Can nobody be saved that understands not their Disputations? Or is there more requisite, either of Faith or Honesty, for the Salvation of one Man than another? What needs so much preaching of Faith to us

N. B.

The Presbyterians in their sermons often mis-interpret the word *Righteousness*.

that are no Heathens, and that believe already all that Christ and his Apostles have told us is necessary to Salvation, and more too? Why is there so little preaching of Justice? I have indeed heard Righteousness often recommended to the People, but I have seldom heard the Word Justice in their Sermons; nay, though in the Latin and Greek Bible the Word Justice occurs exceeding often; yet in the English (though it be a Word that every Man understands) the Word Righteousness (which few understand to signify the same, but take it rather for Rightness of Opinion than of Action or Intention) is put in the place of it.

A. I confess I know very few Controversies amongst Christians upon Points necessary to Salvation. They are the Questions of Authority and Power over the Church, or of Profit, or of Honour to Church-men, that, for the most part, raise all the Controversies. For what Man is he, that will trouble himself, and fall out with his Neighbours, for the saving of my Soul, or the Soul of any other than himself? When the Presbyterian Ministers and others did so furiously preach Sedition, and animate men to Rebellion in these late Wars; who was there that had not a Benefice, or having one, feared not to lose it, or some other part of his Maintenance, by the Alteration of the Government, that did voluntarily, without any Eye to Reward; preach as earnestly against Sedition, as the other Party preached for it? I confess, that (for aught I have observed in History, and other Writings of the Heathens, Greek and Latin,) those Heathens were not at all behind us in point of Virtue and moral Duties, notwithstanding we had much preaching, and they none at all. I confess also, that (considering what Harm may proceed from a Liberty that Men have, upon every Sunday, and oftener, to harangue all the People of a Nation at one Time, whilst the State is ignorant of what they will say, and that there is no such Thing permitted in all the World out of Christendom, nor therefore any Civil Wars about Religion,) I have thought much preaching an Inconvenience. Nevertheless I cannot think that preaching to the People the Points of their Duty, both to God and Man, can be too frequent, so it be done by grave, discreet, and ancient Men, that are revered by
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N. B.

the People; and not by light, quibbling, young Men, whom no Congregation is so simple as to look to be taught by them (as being a Thing contrary to Nature) or to pay them any Reverence, or to care what they say, except some few that may be delighted with their Jingling. I wish with all my Heart there were enough of such discreet and ancient Men, as might suffice for all the Parishes of England, and that they would undertake it. But this is but a Wish; I leave it to the Wisdom of the State to do what it pleaseth.

B. What did they next?

A. Whereas the King had sent, as prisoners, into Places remote from London, three Persons that had been condemned for publishing seditious Doctrine, some in Writing, and some in publick Sermons, the Parliament (whether with his Majesty's Consent or no, I have forgotten) caused them to be released, and to return to London; meaning (I think), to try how the People would be pleased therewith, and, by Consequence, how their Endeavours to draw the People's Affections from the King had already prospered. When these three persons came through London*, it was a kind of Triumph, the People flocking-together to behold them, and receiving them with such Acclamations, and almost Adoration, as if they had been let-down from Heaven. Insomuch that the Parliament was now sufficiently assured of having a great and tumultuous Party, ready to assist them, whensoever they should have Occasion for it: On the Confidence whereof they proceeded to their next Plot, which was to deprive the King of such Ministers as, by their Wisdom, Courage, and Authority, they thought most able to prevent, or oppose, their farther Designs against the King.

And, first, the House of Commons resolved to impeach the Earl of Strafford, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, of High-Treason.

B. What was that Earl of Strafford before he had that Place? And how had he offended the Parliament, or given them Cause to think he would be their Enemy? for I have heard that in former Parliaments he had been as Parliamentary as any other.

A. His Name was Sir Thomas Wentworth; he was a Gentleman,

Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, are released from their imprisonment by the order of Parliament.

* November 23, 1640.

Of the Earl of Strafford.

tleman, both for Birth and Estate, very considerable in his own Country, which was Yorkshire, but more considerable for his Judgement in the publick Affairs, not only of that Country, but generally of the Kingdom, and was therefore often chosen for the Parliament, either as Burgess for some Borough, or Knight of the Shire. For his Principles of Politicks, they were the same that were generally proceeded-upon by all Men else that were thought fit to be chosen for the Parliament, which are commonly these : To take for the Rule of Justice and Government the Judgements and Acts of former Parliaments, which are commonly called Precedents : To endeavour to keep the People from being subject to extra-parliamentary Taxes of Money, and from being with parliamentary Taxes too much oppressed : To preserve to the People their Liberty of Body from the arbitrary Power of the King out of Parliament : To seek Redress of Grievances.

B. What Grievances ?

A. The Grievances commonly were such as these : The King's too much Liberality to some Favourite : The too much Power of some Minister or Officer of the Commonwealth : The Misdemeanours of Judges, Civil or Spiritual, but especially all unparliamentary raising of Money upon the Subjects. And commonly of late, till such Grievances be redressed, they refuse, or, at least, make great Difficulty, to furnish the King with Money necessary for the most urgent Occasions of the Commonwealth.

B. How then can a King discharge his Duty as he ought to do, or the Subject know which of his Masters he is to obey ; for here are manifestly two Powers, which, when they chance to differ, cannot both be obeyed ?

A. 'Tis true ; but they have never before differed so much to the Danger of the Commonwealth, as they have done in this Parliament, 1640. In all the Parliaments of the late King Charles, before the Year 1640, my Lord of Strafford did appear in Opposition to the King's Demands, as much as any Man, and was, for that Cause, very much esteemed and cried-up by the People as a good Patriot, and one that courageously stood-up in defence of their Liberties ; and for the same Cause was so much the

The Principles of an upright Member of Parliament.

In the Parliaments in the first three years of King Charles's reign Lord Strafford was a strong opposer of the King's measures.

more

more hated, when afterwards he endeavoured to maintain the Royal and just Authority of his Majesty.

B. How came he to change his Mind so much, as it seems he did?

A. After the Dissolution of the Parliament holden in the Years 1627 and 1628, the King finding no Money to be gotten from Parliaments, which he was not to buy with the Blood of such Servants and Ministers as he loved best, abstained a long Time from calling any more, and had abstained longer, if the Rebellion of the Scots had not forced him to it. During that Parliament the King made Sir Thomas Wentworth a Baron, recommended him for his great Ability, which was generally taken notice of by the Disservice he had done the King in former Parliaments, but which might be useful also for him in the Times that came-on : and, not long after, he made him a Member of the Privy Council, and, after that again, Lieutenant of Ireland ; which Place he discharged with great Satisfaction and Benefit to his Majesty, and continued in that Office, till, by the Envy and Violence of the Lords and Commons of that unlucky Parliament of 1640, he died. In which Year he was made General of the King's Forces against the Scots, that then entered into England ; and, the Year before, he had been made Earl of Strafford. The Pacification being made, and the Forces on both Sides disbanded, and the Parliament at Westminster now sitting, it was not long before the House of Commons accused him to the House of Lords of High-Treason.

The Earl of Strafford was receive into the King's favour in the year 1627.

B. There was no great Probability of his being a Traitor to the King, from whose Favour he received his Greatness, and from whose Protection he was to expect his Safety. What was the Treason they laid to his Charge?

He is impeached by the House of Commons of High-Treason. In November, 1640.

A. Many Articles were drawn-up against him, but the Sum of them was contained in these two. First That he had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Realm ; and, instead thereof, to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical Government against Law. Secondly, that he had laboured to subvert the Rights of Parliaments, and the ancient Course of parliamentary Proceedings.

B. Was this done by him without the Knowledge of the King?

A. No.

B. Why then, if it were Treason, did not the King himself call him in Question by his Attorney? What had the House of Commons to do without his Command, to accuse him in the House of Lords? They might have complained to the King, if he had not known it before. I understand not this Law.

A. Nor I.

B. Had this been by any former Statutes made Treason?

A. Not that I ever heard-of; nor do I understand how any Thing can be Treason against the King, that the King, hearing and knowing of it, does not think Treason. But it was a Piece of that Parliament's Artifice to put the Word *Traiterously* to any Article exhibited against any Man, whose Life they meant to take-away.

A. Was there no particular Instance of an Action, or of Words, out of which they argued that Endeavour of his to subvert the fundamental Laws of Parliament, whereof they accused him?

A. Yes; they said he gave the King Counsel to reduce the Parliament to their Duty by the Irish Army, which, not long before, my Lord Strafford himself had caused to be levied there for the King's Service. But it was never proved against him, that he advised the King to use it against the Parliament.

Of fundamental
Laws.

A. What are those Laws that are called fundamental? for I understand not how one Law can be more fundamental than another, except only that Law of Nature that binds us all to obey him, whosoever he be, whom lawfully, and for our own Safety, we have promised to obey; nor any other fundamental Law to a King, but *Salus Populi*, the Safety and Well-being of his People.

A. This Parliament in the Use of their Words, when they accused any Man, never regarded the Signification of them, but the Weight they had to aggravate their Accusation to the ignorant Multitude, which think all Faults heinous, that are expressed in heinous Terms, if they hate the Person accused, as they did this Man; not only for
being

being of the King's Party, but also for deserting the Parliament's Party as an Apostate.

B. I pray you tell me also what they mean by arbitrary Government, which they seemed so much to hate? *Of arbitrary Government.*
Is there any Governor of a People in the World that is forced to govern them, or forced to make this and that Law, whether he will or no? I think not; or if any be, he that forces him does certainly make Laws, and govern arbitrarily,

A. That's true; and the true Meaning of the Parliament was, that not the King, but they themselves should have the arbitrary Government, not only of England, but of Ireland, and (as it appeared by the Event) of Scotland also.

B. How the King came-by the Government of Scotland and Ireland by Descent from his Ancestors, every Body can tell. But if the King of England and his Heirs should chance (which God forbid!) to fail, I cannot imagine what Title the Parliament of England can acquire thereby to the Government of either of those Nations.

A. Yes; they'll say they had been conquered anciently by the English Subjects Money.

B. Like enough, and suitable to the rest of their Impudence.

A. Impudence in Democratical Assemblies does almost all that's done; 'tis the Goddess of Rhetoric, and carries Proof with it. For what ordinary Man will not, from so great Boldness of Affirmation, conclude, that there is great Probability in the Thing affirmed. Upon this Accusation he was brought to his Trial in Westminster-Hall, before the House of Lords, and was found guilty; and, presently after, was declared a Traitor by a Bill of Attainder, that is, by Act of Parliament.

B. It is a strange Thing that the Lords should be induced, upon so light Grounds, to give a Sentence, or give their Assent to a Bill so prejudicial to themselves and their Posterity.

A. 'Twas not well done; and yet (as it seems) not ignorantly: for there is a Clause in the Bill, "that it should not be taken hereafter for an Example," that is, for a Prejudice in the like Case hereafter.

B. That's

B. That's worse than the Bill itself, and is a plain Confession that their Sentence was unjust: for what Harm is there in the Examples of just Sentences? Besides, if hereafter the like Case should happen, the Sentence is not at all made weaker by such a Provision.

A. Indeed I believe that the Lords, most of them, were not of themselves willing to condemn him of Treason, but were awed to it by the Clamour of the common People that came to Westminster in great Numbers, crying-out, "Justice! Justice! against the Earl of Strafford;" the which were caused to flock thither by some Members of the House of Commons that were well assured, (after the triumphant Welcome of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick,) that they could put the People into Tumult, upon any Occasion they desired. They were awed into it partly also by the House of Commons itself, which, if it desired to undo a Lord, had no more to do, but to vote him a Delinquent.

A. A Delinquent; what's that? A Sinner, is't not? Did they mean to undo all Sinners?

A. By a Delinquent they meant only a Man to whom they would do all the Hurt they could: but the Lords did not yet, I think, suspect they meant to cashier their whole House.

B. It's a strange Thing that the whole House of Lords should not perceive, that the Ruin of the King's Power, or the weakening of it, was the Ruin, or weakening of themselves: for they could not think it likely, that the People ever meant to take the Sovereignty from the King to give it to them, who were few in Number, and less in Power, than so many Commoners, because they were less beloved by the People.

A. But it seems not so strange to me; for, as to the personal Abilities of the Lords, though they were not less skilful, yet neither were they more skilful, in the Management of publick Affairs, than the Knights and Burgesses of the House of Commons. For there was no Reason to think, that, if one that is to-day a Knight of the Shire in the Lower House, be to-morrow made a Lord, and a Member of the Higher House, he is therefore wiser than he was before. They are all, of both Houses, as prudent and able Men as any in the Land, in the Business of their private Estates, which require nothing but Diligence and natural Wit to govern them; but for the Government of

of a Commonwealth, neither Wit, nor Prudence, nor Diligence, is enough, without infallible Rules, and the true Science of Equity and Justice.

B. If this be true, it is impossible any Commonwealth in the World, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, should continue long without Change, or Sedition tending to change, either of the Government or of the Governours.

A. 'Tis true; nor have any the greatest Commonwealths in the World been long free from Sedition. The Greeks had for a while their petty Kings; and then, by Sedition, came to be petty Commonwealths; and then, growing to be greater Commonwealths, by Sedition again became Monarchies; and all for want of Rules of Justice for the common People to take notice-of; which if the People had known in the Beginning of every one of these Seditions, the ambitious Persons could never have had the Hope to disturb their Government, after it had been once settled. For Ambition can do little without Hands: and few Hands it would have, if the common People were as diligently instructed in the true Principles of their Duty, as they are terrified and amazed by Preachers with fruitless and dangerous Doctrines concerning the Nature of Man's Will, and many other philosophical Points, that tend not at all to the Salvation of their Souls in the World to come, nor to their Ease in this Life, but only to give a wrong Direction to their Sentiments of Duty and Obedience, in teaching them to make the Clergy the Object of them, instead of the King, to whom alone they are due.

Of the danger to different forms of Government from Sedition.

B. For aught I see, all the States of Christendom will be subject to these Fits of Rebellion, as long as the World lasteth.

A. Like enough, and yet the Fault (as I have said) may be easily mended, by mending the Universities.

B. How long had the Parliament now sitten?

A. It began November the third 1640. My Lord of Strafford was impeached of Treason before the Lords November the 12th; sent to the Tower November the 23d; his Trial began March 22d, and ended April 13th. After his Trial he was voted guilty of High-Treason in the House of Commons, and after that in the House of Lords May the 6th, and on the 12th of May was beheaded.

B. Great

B. Great Expedition ; but could not the King for all that, have saved him by a Pardon ?

A. The King had heard all that passed at his Trial, and had declared he was unsatisfied concerning the Justice of their Sentence, and (I think) notwithstanding the Danger of his own Person from the Fury of the People, and that he was counselled to give way to his Execution, not only by such as he most relied-on, but also by the Earl of Strafford himself, he would have pardoned him, if that could have preserved him against the Tumult raised and countenanced by the Parliament itself, for the terrifying of those who, they thought, might favour him: And yet the King himself did not stick to confess afterwards, that he had done amiss in that he did not rescue him.

B. 'Twas an Argument of good Disposition in the King. But I never read that Augustus Cæsar acknowledged that he had done a Fault in abandoning Cicero to the Fury of his Enemy Antonius. Perhaps because Cicero (having been of the contrary Faction to Julius Cæsar, his Father,) had done Augustus no Service at all out of Favour to him, but only out of Enmity to Antonius, and out of Love to the Senate, that is, indeed, out of Love to himself, who swayed the Senate ; as it is very likely the Earl of Strafford came-over to the King's Party for his own Ends, having been so much against the King in former Parliaments.

A. We cannot safely judge of Men's Intentions. But I have observed often, that such as seek Preferment by their Stubbornness, have missed of their Aim ; and on the other Side, that those Princes, that with Preferment are forced to buy the Obedience of their Subjects, are already, or must be soon after, in a very weak Condition : for in a Market where Honour and Power is to be bought with Stubbornness, there will be a great many as able to buy as my Lord of Strafford was.

B. You have read, that, when Hercules, fighting with the Hydra, had cut-off any one of his many Heads, there still arose two other Heads in its Place ; and yet at last he cut them off all.

A. The Story is told falsely : for Hercules at first did not cut-off those Heads, but bought them off ; and afterwards, when he saw it did him no good, then he cut them off, and got the Victory.

B. What

B. What did they next?

A. After the first Impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, the House of Commons, upon December the 18th, accused the Archbishop of Canterbury also of High-Treason, that is, of a Design to introduce arbitrary Government; &c. for which he was, February the 18th, sent to the Tower; but his Trial and Execution were deferred a long Time, till January the 10th 1643*, for the Entertainment of the Scots, that were come into England to aid the Parliament.

The House of Commons impeaches Archbishop Laud of High-Treason.

* That is, 1643-44.

B. Why did the Scots think there was so much Danger in the Archbishop of Canterbury? He was not a Man of War, nor a Man able to bring an Army into the Field; but he was perhaps a very great Politician.

A. That did not appear by any remarkable Event of his Counsels. I never heard but that he was a very honest Man for his Morals, and a very zealous Promoter of the Church Government by Bishops, and that desired to have the Service of God performed, and the House of God adorned, as suitably as was possible to the Honour we ought to do to the Divine Majesty. But to bring, as he did, into the State his former Controversies, I mean his Squabbings in the University about Free-will, and his standing upon Punctilios, concerning the Service-Book and its Rubricks, was not, in my Opinion, an Argument of his Sufficiency in Affairs of State. About the same Time they passed an Act (which the King consented to) for a triennial Parliament, wherein was enacted, That after the present Parliament there should be a Parliament called by the King within the Space of three Years, and so from three Years to three Years, to meet at Westminster upon a certain Day named in the Act.

His Character.

An Act of Parliament is passed to have a Parliament at least once in three years.

B. But, what if the King did not call it, finding it perhaps inconvenient, or hurtful to the Safety or Peace of his People, which God hath put into his Charge? For I do not well comprehend how any Sovereign can well keep a People in Order when his Hands are tied, or when he hath any other Obligation upon him, than the Benefit of those he governs; and at this Time, for any Thing you have told me, they acknowledged the King for their Sovereign.

A. I know not; but such was the Act. And it was further

further enacted, That if the King did it not by his own Command, then the Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Keeper for the Time being, should send-out the Writs of Summons; and, if the Lord Chancellor refused, then the Sheriffs of the several Counties should, of themselves, in their next County-Courts, before the Day set-down for the Parliament's Meeting, proceed to the Election of the Members for the said Parliament.

B. But what, if the Sheriffs refused?

A. I think they were to be sworn to it: but for that, and other Particulars, I refer you to the Act.

B. To whom should they be sworn, when there is no Parliament?

A. No doubt but to the King, whether there be a Parliament sitting or no.

B. Then the King may release them of their Oath.

A. Besides, they obtained of the King the putting-down the Star-Chamber, and the High-Commission-Courts.

B. Besides, if the King, upon the Refusal, should fall upon them in Anger; who shall (the Parliament not sitting) protect either the Chancellor or the Sheriffs in their Disobedience.

A. I pray you, do not ask me any Reason of such Things as I understand no better than you. I tell you only that an Act passed to that Purpose, and was signed by the King in the middle of February, a little before the Archbishop was sent to the Tower. Besides this Bill, the two Houses of Parliament agreed upon another, wherein it was enacted, That the present Parliament should continue till both the Houses did consent to the Dissolution of it; which Bill also the King signed the same Day he signed the Warrant for the Execution of the Earl of Strafford.

B. What a great Progress the Parliament made towards the Ends of the most seditious Members of both Houses in so little Time? They sat-down in November, and now it was May; and in this Space of Time (which is but half a Year) they won from the King the Adherence which was due to him from his People; they drove his faithfullest Servants from him; beheaded the Earl of Strafford; imprisoned the Archbishop of Canterbury; obtained a triennial Parliament after their own Dissolution, and a Continuance of their own Sitting, as long as they

The Court of the Star-Chamber and the High-Commission-Court are abolished by Act of Parliament,

An Act of Parliament is passed to prevent the present Parliament from being dissolved without their own consent.

they listed ; which last amounted to a total Extinction of the King's Right, in case that such a Grant were valid ; which, I think, it is not, unless the Sovereignty itself be in plain Terms renounced ; which it was not. But, what Money, by way of Subsidy, or otherwise, did they grant the King in Recompence of all these large Concessions ?

A. None at all ; but often promised that they would make him the most glorious King that ever was in England ; which were Words that passed well enough for well-meaning with the common People.

B. But, I suppose, the Parliament was now contented : for I cannot imagine what they should desire more from the King, than he had now granted them.

A. Yes ; they desired the whole and absolute Sovereignty, and to change the Monarchical Government into an Oligarchy ; that is to say, to make the Parliament, consisting of a few Lords, and about four hundred Commons, absolute in the Sovereignty, for the present, and shortly after to lay the House of Lords aside. For this was the Design of the Presbyterian Ministers *, who (taking themselves to be, by Divine Right, the only lawful Governors of the Church) endeavoured to bring the same form of Government into the Civil State. And, as the Spiritual Laws were to be made by their Synods, so the Civil Laws should be made by the House of Commons ; who, as they thought, would no less be ruled by them afterwards, than they formerly had been ; wherein they were deceived, and found themselves to be out-gone by their own Disciples, though not in Malice, yet in Wit.

B. What followed after this ?

A. In August following, the King, supposing he had now sufficiently obliged the Parliament to proceed no farther against him, took a Journey into Scotland, to satisfy his Subjects there, as he had done here, intending

The King goes to Scotland in August, in order to give satisfaction to his Scottish subjects.

* Whatever may have been the design of the Presbyterian Ministers in England at this time, the majority of the Members of this House of Commons seem never, and much less at this early period, to have had any intention of changing the form of Government from a Monarchy to a Common-wealth, or Republick ; as appears from the foregoing Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, who was the great Leader of what was called the *Presbyterian party* in the House. The number of members of it who had adopted republican principles, seems, even at the death of the King, to have been very small.

perhaps so to gain their Good-wills, that, in case the Parliament here should levy Arms against him, they should not be aided by the Scots. But in this Hope he was also deceived; for, though they seemed satisfied with what he then did for them, (whereof one Thing was his giving way to the Abolition of Episcopacy) yet afterwards they made a League with the Parliament, and, for Money, (when the King began to have the better of the Parliament) invaded England in the Parliament's Quarrel: but this was a Year or two after.

B. Before you go any farther, I desire to know the Ground and Original of that Right, which either the House of Lords, or the House of Commons, or both together, now pretend-to.

A. It is a Question of Things so long ago past, that they are now forgotten. Nor have we any Thing to conjecture by, but the Records of our own Nation, and some small and obscure Fragments of Roman Histories: And, for the Records, seeing they are of Things done only, sometimes justly, sometimes unjustly, you can never, by them, know what Right they had, but only what Right they pretended-to.

B. However, let me know what Light we have in this Matter from the Roman Histories.

A. It would be too long, and an useless Digression, to cite all the ancient Authors that speak of the Forms of those Commonwealths, which were amongst our first Ancestors the Saxons, and other Germans, and of other Nations, from whom we derive the Titles of Honour now in use in England; nor will it be possible to derive from them any Argument of Right, but only Examples of Fact, which, by the Ambition of potent Subjects, have been oftener unjust than otherwise. And for those Saxons or Angles, that in ancient Times, by several Invasions, made themselves Masters of this Nation; they were not in themselves one Body of a Commonwealth, but only a League of divers petty German Lords and States, such as was the Grecian Army in the Trojan War, without other Obligation, than that which proceeded from their own Fear and Weakness. Nor were those Lords, for the most part, the Sovereigns at Home in their own Country, but chosen by the People for the Captains of the Forces they brought

The Nature of the English Government, under the Saxon Kings before the Conquest, is known but very imperfectly.

brought with them. And therefore it was not without Equity, when they had conquered any part of the Land, and made some one of themselves King thereof, that the rest should have greater Privileges than the common People and Soldiers. And amongst these Privileges a Man may easily conjecture this to have been one; "That they should be made acquainted, and be of Council, with him that hath the Sovereignty, in matters of Government, and should have the greatest and most honourable Offices, both in Peace and War." But, because there can be no Government where there is more than one Sovereign, it cannot be inferr'd, that they had a Right to oppose the King's Resolutions by Force, nor to enjoy those Honours and Places longer than they should continue good Subjects. And we find that the Kings of England did, upon every great Occasion, call them together, by the Name of *discreet and wise Men of the Kingdom*, and hear their Counsel, and make them Judges of all Causes that, during their sitting, were brought before them. But, as he summon'd them at his own Pleasure, so he had also ever the Power, at his own Pleasure, to dissolve them. The Normans also, (who descended from the Germans, as we did,) had the same Customs in this Particular; and by this Means this Privilege of the Lords "to be of the King's Great Council, and, when they were assembled, to constitute the highest of the King's Courts of Justice," continued still after the Conquest to this Day. But, though there be amongst the Lords divers Names or Titles of Honour, yet they have their Privilege by the only Name of *Baron*, a Name receiv'd from the ancient Gauls, amongst whom that Name signified the King's Man, or, rather, one of his great Men: By which it seems to me, that, though they gave him Counsel, when he requir'd it, yet they had no Right to make War upon him, if he did not follow it.

B. When began first the House of Commons to be a Part of the King's Great Council?

A. I do not doubt but that, before the Conquest, some discreet Men, and known to be so by the King, were called by special Writ to be of the same Council, though they were not Lords. But that is nothing to the House of Commons: The Knights of Shires and Burgesses

were never called to Parliament, for aught that I know, till the beginning of the Reign of Edward I. * or the latter end of the Reign of Henry III. immediately after the misbehaviour of the Barons; and for aught any Man knows, were called on purpose to weaken that Power of the Lords, which they had so freshly abused. Before the Time of Henry III. the Lords were descended, most of them, from such persons as, in the Invasions and Conquests of the Germans, were Peers and Fellow-Kings, till one was made King of them all; and their Tenants were their Subjects, as it is at this Day with the Lords of France. But after the time of Henry III. the Kings began to make Lords in the Place of them whose Issue failed, Titulary only, without the Lands belonging to their Title. And by that means (their Tenants being no longer bound to serve them in the Wars,) they grew every Day, less and less able to make a Party against the King, though they continued still to be his Great Council. And as their Power decreased, so the Power of the House of Commons increased; but I do not find they were part of the King's Council at all, nor Judges over other Men; though it cannot be denied, but a King may ask their Advice, as well as the Advice of any other persons. But I do not find that the End of their being summoned was to give Advice, but only, in Case they had any Petitions for Redress of Grievances, to be ready there with them, whilst the King had his Great Council about him.

But neither they, nor the Lords, could present to the King as a Grievance; "that the King took upon him to make the Laws; to chuse his own Privy-Counsellors; to raise Money and Soldiers, to defend the Peace and Honour of the Kingdom; to make Captains in his Army; to make Governors of his Castles, whom he pleased." For this had been to tell the King, that it was one of their Grievances "that he was King."

B. What did the Parliament do whilst the King was in Scotland?

* It appears from the most accurate inquiries into the subject, that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the House of Commons were not constantly and regularly summoned to Parliament till the 23d Year of the Reign of King Edward the 1st, in the Year of Christ, 1295.

A. The King went in August, after which the Parliament, September the 8th, adjourned till the 20th of October, and the King returned about the End of November following, in which Time the most seditious of both Houses, and which had designed the Change of Government, and to cast-off Monarchy, (but yet had not Wit enough to set-up any other Government in its place, and consequently left it to the Chance of War) made a Cabal amongst themselves, in which they projected how, by seconding one another, to govern the House of Commons, and invented how to put the Kingdom, by the Power of that House, into a Rebellion, which they then called a Posture of Defence against such Dangers from abroad as they themselves would feign and publish. Besides, while the King was in Scotland, the Irish Papists got-together a great Party, with an Intention to massacre the Protestants there, and had laid a Design for the seizing of Dublin Castle, October the 23d, where the King's Officers of the Government of that Country made their Residence, and would have effected it, if it had not been discovered the Night before the Day on which it was to have been carried into execution. The Manner of the Discovery, and the Murders they committed in the Country afterwards, I need not tell you, since the whole Story of it is extant.

The King went to Scotland in August, 1641.

The Popish Rebellion and Massacre in Ireland breaks-out in October, 1641.

B. I wonder they did not expect and provide for a Rebellion in Ireland as soon as they began to quarrel with the King in England. For was there any body so ignorant, as not to know, that the Irish Papists did long for a Change of Religion there, as well as the Presbyterians in England? or that, in general, the Irish Nation did hate the Name of Subjection to England? or would longer be quiet than they feared an Army out of England to chastise them? What better Time then could they take for their Rebellion than this, wherein they were encouraged, not only by our Weakness, caused by this Division between the King and his Parliament, but also by the Example of the Presbyterians, both of the Scotch and English Nation? But what did the Parliament do upon this Occasion in the King's Absence?

A. Nothing, but consider what Use they might make

of it to their own Ends, partly by imputing it * to the King's evil Counsellors, and partly by Occasion thereof to demand of the King the Power of pressing and ordering of Soldiers; which Power whosoever has, has also, without Doubt, the whole Sovereignty.

B. When came the King back?

A. He came back the 25th of November, and was welcomed with the Acclamations of the common People, as much as if he had been the most beloved of all the Kings that were before him, but found not a Reception by the Parliament answerable to it. They presently began to pick new Quarrels against him out of every thing he said to them. December the 2d the King called together both Houses of Parliament, and then did only recommend unto them the raising succours for Ireland.

B. What Quarrel could they pick out of that?

A. None: but in order thereto, as they may pretend, they had a Bill in Agitation to assert the Power of levying and pressing Soldiers to the two Houses of the Lords and Commons; which was as much as to take from the King the Power of the Militia, which is in Effect the whole Sovereign Power: for he that hath the Power of levying and commanding the Soldiers, has all other Rights of Sovereignty, which he shall please to claim. The King hearing of it, called the Houses of Parliament together again, on December the 14th, and then pressed again the Business of Ireland, (as there was need; for all this while the Irish were murdering of the English in Ireland, and strengthening themselves against the Forces they expected out of England) and withal told them, he took Notice of the Bill in agitation for pressing of Soldiers, and he was contented it should pass with a *Salvo Jure* both for him and them, because the present Time was unseasonable to dispute it in.

B. What was there unreasonable in this?

A. Nothing. "What's unreasonable" is one Question; "what they quarrelled-at" is another. They quarrelled at this: "That his Majesty took Notice of the Bill, while

* This imputation was countenanced by the Army of Popish Rebels in Ireland, who called themselves *the Queen's Army*, and declared that they had taken-up arms, not only to advance the Popish Religion, but likewise to defend the King against his *Puritan Parliament* in England.

The King returned to London in November, 1641.

Proceedings in the English Parliament after his return.

it was under Debate in the House of Lords, before it was presented to him in the Course of Parliament ; and also that he shewed himself displeased with those that propounded the said Bill :” both which they declared to be against the Privileges of Parliament, and petitioned the King to give them Reparation against those by whose evil Counsel he was induced to it, that they might receive condign Punishment.

B. This was cruel Proceeding. Do not the Kings of England use to sit in the Lords House when they please? and was not this Bill in Debate then in the House of Lords? It is a strange thing that a man should be lawfully in the Company of Men, where he must needs hear and see what they say and do ; and yet must not take notice of it, so much as to the same Company : for, though the King was not present at the Debate itself, yet it was lawful for any of the Lords to make him acquainted with it. Any one of the House of Commons, though not present at a Proposition or Debate in the House, nevertheless, hearing of it from some of his Fellow-members, may certainly not only take notice of it, but also speak to it in the House of Commons. But to make the King give-up his Friends and Counsellors to them to be put to Death, Banishment, or Imprisonment, for their good-will to him, was such a Tyranny over a King, as no King ever exercised over any Subject, but in Cases of Treason and Murder ; and seldom then.

A. Presently hereupon began a kind of War between the Pens of the Parliament and those of the Secretaries, and other able Men that were with the King. For, upon the 15th of December, they sent to the King a Paper called, *A Remonstrance * of the State of the Kingdom*, and with it a Petition ; both which they caused to be published. In the Remonstrance they complained of certain mischievous Designs of a malignant Party then, before the Beginning of the Parliament, grown ripe ; and did

The House of Commons presents to the King a Remonstrance on the State of the Nation, December 15, 1641.

* This Remonstrance is a faithful Narrative of the principal Acts of oppression and misgovernment from the beginning of King Charles's Reign, without any exaggeration, or undue asperity of expression. It is drawn-up with great Ability. See, upon this subject, the Reflections of Mr. Thomas May, in his History of this famous Parliament, Book second, Chapter second, Pages 88, 89, and 90, of the Edition of the Year, 1811.

set-forth what Means had been used for the preventing of it by the Wisdom of the Parliament, what Rubs they had found therein, what Course was fit to be taken for restoring and establishing the ancient Honour, Greatness, and Safety of the Crown and Nation.

1st. And of these Designs the Promoters and Actors were, they said, Jesuited Papists.

2ndly. The Bishops, and that part of the Clergy that cherish Formality as a Support of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Usurpation.

3dly. Counsellors and Courtiers, that for private Ends (they said) had engaged themselves to farther the Interests of some Foreign Princes.

B. It may very well be that some of the Bishops, and some of the Court may have, in Pursuit of their private Interest, done something indiscreetly, and perhaps wickedly. Therefore, I pray you, tell me in particular, what their Crimes were: for methinks the King should not have connived at any thing against his own Supreme Authority?

A. The Parliament were not very keen against them that were against the King. They made no Doubt but that all that the persons whom they accused had done, had been done by the King's Command; but they accused thereof the Bishops, Counsellors, and Courtiers, as being a more mannerly way of accusing the King himself, and defaming him to his Subjects: for the Truth is, the Charge they brought against him was so general as not to be called an Accusation, but Railing. At first, they said that the Persons whom they so accused nourished Questions of Prerogative and Liberty between the King and his People, to the end that, seeming much addicted to his Majesty's Service, they might get themselves into Places of greatest Trust and Power in the Kingdom.

B. How could this be called an Accusation, in which there is no Fact for any Accusers to apply their Proofs to, or their Witnesses? for, granting that these Questions of Prerogative had been moved by them, who can prove that their End was to gain to themselves and Friends the Places of Trust and Power in the Kingdom?

A. A

A. A second Accusation was, That they endeavoured to suppress the Purity and Power of Religion.

B. That's Canting : it is not in Man's Power to suppress the Power of Religion.

A. They meant that they suppressed the Doctrine of the Presbyterians, that is to say, the very Foundation of the then Parliament's treacherous Pretensions.

A Third ; That they cherished Arminians, Papists, and Libertines, (by which they meant the common Protestants, who meddle not with Disputes) to the end they might compose a Body fit to act according to their Counsels and Resolutions.

A Fourth ; That they endeavoured to put the King upon other Courses of raising Money, than by the ordinary Way of Parliaments. Judge whether these may be properly called Accusations, or not, rather, spiteful Reproaches of the King's Government.

B. Methinks this last was a very great Fault ; for what good could there be in putting the King upon an odd Course of getting Money, when the Parliament was willing to supply him as far as to the Security of the Kingdom, or to the Honour of the King, should be necessary?

A. But I told you before that they would give him none, but with a Condition he should cut-off the Heads of whom they pleased, how faithfully soever they had served him. And, if he would have sacrificed all his Friends to their Ambition, they would still have found other Excuses for denying him Subsidies: for they were resolved to take from him the Sovereign Power to themselves, which they could never do without taking great Care that he should have no Money at all. In the next place they put into the Remonstrance, as Faults of them whose Counsel the King followed, all those Things which, since the Beginning of the King's Reign, were by them disliked, whether Faults or not; and whereof they were not able to judge for want of Knowledge of the Causes and Motives that induced the King to do them, and were known only to the King himself, and such of his Privy Council as he revealed them to.

B. But what were those particular pretended Faults?

A. 1. The Dissolution of his first Parliament at Oxford.

ford. 2. The Dissolution of his second Parliament, being in the second Year of his Reign. 3. The dissolution of his Parliament in the fourth Year of his Reign. 4. The fruitless Expedition against Calais. 5. The Peace made with Spain, whereby the Palatines Cause was deserted, and left to chargeable and hopeless Treaties. 6. The sending of Commissions to raise Money by way of Loan. 7. Raising of Ship-money. 8. Enlargement of Forests contrary to Magna Charta. 9. The Design of engrossing all the Gunpowder into One Hand, and keeping it in the Tower of London. 10. A Design to bring in the Use of Brass Money. 11. The Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements and Banishments by Sentence in the Court of Star-Chamber. 12. The Displacing of Judges. 13. Illegal Acts of the Council-Table. 14. The Arbitrary and Illegal Power of the Earl Marshal's Court. 15. The Abuses in Chancery, Exchequer Chamber, and Court of Wards. 16. The selling of Titles of Honour, of Judges and Serjeants Places, and other Offices. 17. The Insolence of Bishops and other Clerks in Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations and Degradations of divers painful and learned and pious Ministers.

B. Were there any such Ministers degraded, deprived, or excommunicated?

A. I cannot tell; but I remember I have heard threatened divers painful, unlearned, and seditious Ministers. 13. The Excess of Severity of the High-Commission Court. 19. The preaching before the King against the Property of the Subject, and for the Prerogative of the King above the Law; and divers other petty Quarrels they had to the Government, which though they were laid upon this Faction, yet they knew they would fall upon the King himself in the Judgement of the People, to whom, by Printing, it was communicated.

Again, after the Dissolution of the Parliament, May the 5th, 1640, they find other Faults; as, the Dissolution itself; the Imprisoning some Members of both Houses; a forced Loan of Money attempted in London; the Continuance of the Convocation, when the Parliament

ment was ended, and the Favour shewed to Papists by Secretary Windebank and others.

B. All this will go current with common People for Misgovernment, and for Faults of the King, though some of them were Misfortunes, and both the Misfortunes and the Misgovernment (if any were), were the Faults of the Parliament, who, by denying to give him Money. did both frustrate his Designs abroad, and put him upon those extraordinary Ways (which they call illegal) of raising Money at home.

A. You see what a Heap of Evils they have raised to make a Shew of ill Government to the People, which they second with an Enumeration of the many Services they have done the King in overcoming a great many of them, though not all, and in divers other Things; and say, that though they had contracted a Debt to the Scots of 22,000*l.* and granted six Subsidies, and a Bill of Pole-money worth six Subsidies more, yet that God had so blessed the Endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom was a Gainer by it: and then follows the Catalogue of those good Things they had done for the King and Kingdom. For the Kingdom they had done (they said) these Things. They had abolished Ship-money; they had taken-away Coat and Conduct-money, and other Military Charges, which they said, amounted to little less than the Ship-money. That they suppressed all Monopolies, which they reckoned above a Million yearly saved by the Subject. That they had quelled living Grievances, meaning evil Counsellors and Actors, by the Death of my Lord of Strafford, by the Flight of the Chancellor Finch, and of Secretary Windebank, by the Imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Judge Bartlet, and the Impeachment of other Bishops and Judges. That they had passed a Bill for a Triennial Parliament, and another for the Continuance of the present Parliament, till they should think fit to dissolve themselves.

B. That is to say, for ever if they be suffered. But the Sum of all these Things which they had done for the Kingdom is, that they had left it without Government, without Strength, without Money, without Law, and without good Counsel.

A. They

A. They reckoned also putting-down of the High-Commission, and the abating of the Power of the Council-Table, and of the Bishops and their Courts; the taking-away of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion; removing of Ministers from their Livings, that were not of their Faction, and putting-in such as were.

B. All this was but their own, and not the Kingdom's Business.

A. The Good they had done the King was first (they said) the giving of 25,000*l.* a Month for the Relief of the Northern Counties.

B. What need of Relief had the Northern more than the rest of the Counties of England?

A. Yes; in the Northern Counties were quartered the Scotch Army, which the Parliament called-in to oppose the King, and consequently their Quarter was to be discharged.

B. True; but by the Parliament that called them in.

A. But they say no; and that this Money was given to the King, because he is bound to protect his Subjects.

B. He is no farther bound to that, than they to give him Money wherewithal to do it. This is very great Impudence to raise an Army against the King, and with that Army to oppress their Fellow-Subjects, and then require that the King should relieve them; that is to say, be at the Charge of paying the Army that was raised to fight against him.

A. Nay farther; They put to the King's Account the 300,000*l.* given to the Scots, without which they would not have invaded England; besides many other Things that I now remember not.

B. I did not think there had been so great Impudence and Villainy in Mankind.

A. You have not observed the World long enough to see all that's ill. Such was their Remonstrance, as I have told you: With it they sent a petition containing three Points. 1. That his Majesty would deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and remove such Oppressions in Religion, Church-Government and Discipline, as they had brought-in. 2. That he would remove from his Council all such persons as should promote

mote the People's Grievances, and that he would employ in his great and publick Affairs such persons as the Parliament should confide-in. 3. That he would not give-away the Lands escheated to the Crown by the Rebellion in Ireland.

B. This last Point, methinks, was not wisely put-in at this Time : it should have been reserved, till they had subdued the Rebels, against whom there were yet no Forces sent-over. 'Tis like selling the Lion's Skin before they had killed him. But what Answer was made to the other two Propositions?

A. What Answer should be made, but a Denial? About the same time the King himself exhibited Articles against six Persons of the Parliament, (five whereof were of the House of Commons, and one of the House of Lords,) accusing them of High-Treason; and, upon the 4th of January he went himself to the House of Commons to demand those five of them to be delivered-up to him. But, private Notice of this design havng been given them by some treacherous Person about the King, they had absented themselves from the House; and by that Means frustrated his Majesty's Intentions. And, after he was gone, the House, making a heinous Matter of it, and a high Breach of their Privileges, adjourned themselves into the City of London, there to sit as a General Committee, pretending they were not safe at Westminster: for the King, when he went to the House to demand those Persons, had somewhat more Attendants with him, (but not otherwise armed than his Servants used to be) than he ordinarily had. And, though the King did afterwards wave the Prosecution of those Persons, they would not be pacified, unless he would also discover to them those that gave him Counsel to go in that Manner to the Parliament-House, to the End that they might receive *condign punishment*; which was the Word they used instead of Cruelty.

B. This was a harsh Demand. Was it not enough that the King should forbear his Enemies, but also that he must betray his Friends? If they thus Tyrannize over the King, before they have got the Sovereign Power into their Hands; how will they tyrannize over their Fellow-Subjects, when they have gotten it?

A. So as they did.

B. How

The King goes, with a large Body of armed Men (about 300 in number) to seize the Persons of five Members of the House of Commons, whom he had accused of High Treason.

The House of Commons alarmed at this attempt of the King, adjourn their place of Meeting from Westminster to the City of London.

B. How long staid that Committee in London ?

A. Not above two or three Days, and then were brought from London to the Parliament House, by Water, in great Triumph, guarded with a tumultuous Number of armed Men, there to sit in Security in despite of the King, and make traiterous Acts against him, such, and as many, as they listed, under Favour of these Tumults to frighten-away from the House of Peers all such as were not of their own Faction. For at this Time the Rabble was so insolent, that scarce any of the Bishops durst go to the House, for fear of Violence upon their Persons : insomuch that twelve of them excused themselves from coming thither ; and, by way of Petition to the King, remonstrated, That they were not permitted to go quietly to the Performance of that Duty, and protesting against all Determinations, “ as being of none Effect,” that should pass in the House of Lords during their forced Absence ; which the House of Commons taking hold-of, sent-up to the Peers one of their Members to accuse them of High-Treason ; whereupon ten of them were sent to the Tower, after which Time there were no more Words about their High-Treason ; but there passed a Bill by which they were deprived of their Votes in Parliament ; and to this Bill they got the King’s Assent. And in the Beginning of September after, they voted that the Bishops should have no more to do in the Government of the Church : but to this they had not the King’s Assent, the War being now begun.

B. What made the Parliament so averse to Episcopacy, and especially the House of Lords, whereof the Bishops were Members ? for I see no Reason why they should do it to gratify a Number of poor Parish-Priests, that were Presbyterians, and that were never likely any Way to serve the Lords, but, on the contrary, to do their best to pull-down their Power, and subject them to their Synods and Classes.

A. For the Lords, very few of them did perceive the Intention of the Presbyterians ; and besides that, they durst not (I believe) oppose the Lower House.

B. But why were the Lower House so earnest against them ?

A. Because they meant to make use of their Tenants,
and

An Act of Parliament is past to deprive the Bishops of their votes in the House of Lords.

and with pretended Sanctity to make the King and his Party odious to the People, by whose Help they were to set-up Democracy, and depose the King, or to let him have the Title only so long as he should act for their Purposes. But not only the Parliament, but, in a Manner, all the People of England were their Enemies upon the Account of their Behaviour, as being (they said) too imperious. This was all that was colourably laid to their Charge; the main Cause of pulling them down, was the Envy of the Presbyterians that incensed the People against them, and against Episcopacy itself.

B. How would the Presbyterians have the Church to be governed?

Of the Presbyterian
Mode of Church-
Government.

A. By National and Provincial Synods.

B. Is not this to make the National Assembly an Archbishop, and the Provincial Assemblies so many Bishops?

A. Yes; but every Minister shall have the Delight of sharing the Government, and consequently of being able to be revenged on them that do not admire their Learning, and help to fill their Purses, and to win to their Service them that do.

B. It is a hard Case, that there should be two Factions to trouble the Commonwealth, without any Interest in it of their own, other than every particular Man may have; and that their Quarrels should be only about Opinions, that is, about who has the most Learning; as if their Learning ought to be the Rule of governing all the World. What is it they are learned in? Is it Politics and Rules of State? I know it is called Divinity: but I hear almost nothing preached but Matter of Philosophy. For Religion, in itself, admits of no Controversy. 'Tis a Law of the Kingdom, and ought not to be disputed. I do not think they pretend to speak with God, and know his Will, by any other Way than by reading the Scriptures; which we also do.

A. Yes; some of them do, and give themselves out for Prophets by extraordinary Inspiration! but the rest pretend only (for their Advancement to Benefices and Charge of Souls) a greater Skill in the Scriptures than other Men have, by reason of their Breeding in the Univer-

Universities, and Knowledge, there gotten, of the Latin Tongue, and some also of the Greek and Hebrew Tongues, wherein the Scripture was written; besides their Knowledge of Natural Philosophy, which is there publickly taught.

B. As for the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues, it was once (to the Detection of Roman Fraud, and to the Ejection of the Romish Power) very profitable, or rather necessary. But now that is done, and we have the Scripture in English, and Preaching in English, I see no great Need of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. I should think myself better qualified by understanding well the Languages of our Neighbours, French, Dutch, and Italian. I think it was never seen in the World before the Power of Popes was set-up, that Philosophy was much conducing to Power in a Commonwealth.

A. But Philosophy, together with Divinity, have very much conduced to the Advancement of the Professors thereof to Places of the greatest Authority, next to the Authority of Kings themselves, in the ancient Kingdoms of the World, as is manifestly to be seen in the History of those Times.

B. I pray you, cite me some of the Authors and Places.

A. First, What where the Druids of old Time in Britany and France? What Authority these had you may see in Cæsar, Strabo, and others, and especially in Diodorus Siculus, the greatest Antiquary perhaps that ever was, who speaking of the Druids (whom he calls Sarcovides) in France, says thus: There be also amongst them certain Philosophers and Theologians, that are exceedingly honoured, whom they also use as Prophets; these Men by their Skill in Augury, and Inspection into the Bowels of Beasts sacrificed, foretel what is to come, and have the Multitude obedient to them. And a little after: It is a Custom amongst them, that no Man may sacrifice without a Philosopher; because (say they) Men ought not to present their Thanks to the Gods, but by them that know the Divine Nature, and are, as it were, of the same Language with them, and that all good things ought by such as these to be prayed-for.

B. I

Of the great Power
of the Druids in
Gaul in antient
times.

B. I can hardly believe that those Druids were very skilful, either in Natural Philosophy or Moral.

A. Nor I; for they held and taught the Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another, as did Pythagoras; which Opinion, whether they took from him, or he from them, I cannot tell.

What were the Magi in Persia, but Philosophers and Astrologers? You know how they came to find our Saviour by the conduct of a Star, either from Persia itself, or from some Country more Eastward than Judea. Were not these in great Authority in their Country? And are they not in most part of Christendom thought to have been Kings?

Of the Magi in Persia.

Egypt hath been thought by many the most ancient Kingdom and Nation of the World: and their Priests had the greatest Power in Civil Affairs, that any Subjects ever had in any Nation. And what were they but Philosophers and Divines? Concerning whom the same Diodorus Siculus says thus: The whole Country (of Egypt) being divided into three Parts, the Body of the Priests have one, as being of most Credit with the People, both for their Devotion towards the Gods, and also for their Understanding gotten by Education. And presently after: For generally these Men, in the greatest Affairs of all, are the King's Counsellors, partly executing, and partly informing and advising; foretelling him also (by their Skill in Astrology, and Art in Inspection of Sacrifices) the Things that are to come, and reading to him out of their Holy Books, such of the Actions there recorded as are profitable for him to know. 'Tis not there as in Greece, one Man, or one Woman, that has the Priesthood; but they are many that attend the Honours and Sacrifices of the Gods, and transmit the same Employment to their Posterity; which, next to the King, hath the greatest Power and Authority.

Of the Priests of Egypt.

Concerning the Judicature amongst the Egyptians, he saith thus: From out of the most eminent Cities, Hierapolis, Thebes, and Memphis, they chuse Judges, which are a Council not inferior to that of Areopagus in Athens, or that of the Senate in Lacedæmon. When they are met,

Of the Courts of Judicature amongst the Egyptians.

met, being in Number thirty, they chuse one from amongst themselves to be Chief Justice; and the City, whereof he is, sendeth another in his Place. This Chief Justice wore about his Neck, hung in a Gold Chain, a Jewel of precious Stones, the Name of which Jewel was Truth, which when the Chief Justice had put on, then began the Pleading, &c. and when the Judges had agreed on the Sentence, then did the Chief Justice put his Jewel of Truth to one of the Pleas. You see now what Power was acquir'd in Civil Matters by the Conjunction of Philosophy and Divinity.

Of the Priests in the Jewish Commonwealth.

Let us come now to the Commonwealth of the Jews. Was not the Priesthood in a Family (namely the Levites) as well as the Priesthood of Egypt? Did not the High Priest give Judgment by the Breast-plate of Urim and Thummim? Look upon the Kingdom of Assyria, and the Philosophers and Chaldeans. Had they not Lands and Cities belonging to their Family, even in Abraham's Time, who dwelt (you know) in Ur of the Chaldeans; of these the same Author says thus: The Chaldeans are a Sect in Politics like to that of the Egyptian Priests; for being ordained for the Service of the Gods, they spend the whole Time of their Life in Philosophy, being of great exceeding Reputation in Astrology, and pretending much also to Prophecy, foretelling things to come by Purifications and Sacrifices, and to find out by certain Incantations the preventing of Harm, and the bringing to pass Good. They have also Skill in Augury, and in the Interpretation of Dreams and Wonders, nor are they unskilful in the Art of foretelling by the Inwards of Beasts sacrificed, and have their Learning, not as the Greeks; for the Philosophy of the Chaldeans goes to their Family by Tradition, and the Son receives it from his Father.

Of the Chaldeans in Assyria.

Of the Philosophers of India.

From Assyria let us pass into India, and see what Esteem the Philosophers had there. The whole Multitude (says Diodorus) of the Indians is divided into seven Parts; whereof the first is the Body of Philosophers, for Number the least, but for Eminence the first; for they are free from Taxes, and as they are not Masters of others, so are no others Masters of them. By private
Men

Men they are called to the Sacrifices, and to the Care of Burials of the Dead, as being thought most beloved of the Gods, and skilful in the Doctrine concerning Hell; and, for this Employment, they receive Gifts and Honours very considerable. They are also of great Use to the People of India; for, being taken at the Beginning of the Year into the Great Assembly, they foretell them of great Droughts, great Rains, also of Winds and of Sicknesses, and of whatsoever is profitable for them to know before-hand.

The same Author concerning the Laws of the Ethiopians saith thus: The Laws of the Ethiopians seem very different from those of other Nations, and especially about the election of their Kings; for the Priests propound some one of the chief Men amongst them, named in a Catalogue, and whom the God (which, according to a certain Custom, is carried-about to Feastings) does accept of, him the Multitude elect for their King, and presently adore and honour him as a God, put into the Government by Divine Providence. The King being chosen, he has the manner of his Life limited to him by the Laws, and does all other Things according to the Custom of the Country; neither rewarding, nor punishing any Man, otherwise than from the Beginning is established amongst them by Law. Nor use they to put any Man to Death, (though he be condemned to it), but to send some Officer to him with a Token of Death; who, seeing the Token, goes presently to his House, and kills himself presently after.

Of the Ethiopians.

Their manner of electing their Kings.

But the strangest Thing of all is, that which they do concerning the Death of their Kings: for the Priests that live in *Meroë*, and spend their Time about the Worship and Honour of the Gods, and are in greatest Authority; when they have a mind to it, send a Messenger to the King, to bid him die; for that the Gods have given such Order, and that the Commandments of the Immortals are not by any Means to be neglected by those that are by Nature mortal; using also other Speeches to him, which Men of simple Judgment, and that have not Reason enough to dispute against those unnecessary Commands, as being educated in an old and indelible Custom, are content to admit of. Therefore in former Times the Kings did obey the Priests, not as being mastered by Force and Arms, but as having their Reason

The Kings were formerly very subservient to the Priests of *Meroë*.

But, in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of Egypt, *Ergamenes*, King of Ethiopia, freed the Kings from this subjection to those Priests.

mastered by Superstition. But in the Time of *Ptolemy II. Ergamenes*, King of the Ethiopians, having had his Breeding in Philosophy after the Manner of the Greeks, being the first that durst dispute their Power, took Heart as befitted a King, came with Soldiers to a Place called Abaton, where was then the Golden Temple of the Ethiopians, killed all the Priests, abolished the Custom, and rectified the Kingdom according to his Will.

B. Though they that were killed were most damnable Impostors, yet the Act was cruel.

A. It was so ; but were not the Priests cruel to cause their Kings, (whom a little before they adored as Gods,) to make-away with themselves? The King killed them for the Safety of his Person ; they him out of Ambition, or Love of Change. The King's Act may be covered with the Good of his People: the Priests had no pretence against their Kings, who were certainly very godly, or else they would never have obeyed the Command of the Priests, by a Messenger unarmed, to kill themselves. Our late King, (the best King, perhaps, that ever was,) you know, was murdered, having been first persecuted by War, at the Incitement of Presbyterian Ministers, who are therefore guilty of the Death of all the men that fell in that War ; which were, I believe, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, near 100,000 Persons. Had it not been much better that those seditious Ministers, (which were not, perhaps, 1000,) had been all killed, before they had preached. It had been, I confess, a great Massacre : but the killing of 100,000 is a greater.

B. I am glad the Bishops were free from any participation in the guilt of this Business. As ambitious as, some say, they are, it did not appear in that Business ; for they were Enemies to them that were concerned in it.

A. But I intend not by those Quotations to commend either the Divinity or Philosophy of those heathen People ; but to shew only what the Reputation of those Sciences can effect among the People. For their Divinity was nothing but Idolatry ; and their Philosophy (excepting the Knowledge which the Egyptian Priests, and from them the Chaldeans, had gotten by long Observation and Study in Astronomy, Geometry, and Arithmetic) very little ; and that in great part abused in Astrology and Fortune-telling

telling. Whereas the Divinity of the Clergy in this Nation, considered apart from the Mixture (that has been introduced by the Church of Rome, and in part retained here) of the babbling Philosophy of Aristotle, and other Greeks, that has no Affinity with Religion, and serves only to breed Disaffection, Dissention, and finally Sedition and Civil War, (as we have lately found by dear Experience, in the Differences between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians) is the true Religion. But, for these Differences, both Parties, as they came into Power, not only suppressed the Tenets of one another, but also whatsoever Doctrine look'd with an ill Aspect upon their Interest, and consequently all true Philosophy, especially Civil and Moral, which can never appear propitious to Ambition, or to an Exemption from their Obedience due to the Sovereign Power.

After the King had accused the Lord Kimbolton, (a Member of the Lords House,) and Hollis, Haslerigg, Hampden, Pym, and Stroud, (five Members of the Lower House,) of High-Treason; and after the Parliament had voted-out the Bishops from the House of Peers; they pursued especially two things in their petitions to his Majesty. The one was, That the King would declare who were the Persons that advised him to go, as he did, to the Parliament-House, to apprehend them, and that he would leave them to the Parliament to receive condign Punishment; and this they did in order to stick upon his Majesty the Dishonour of deserting his Friends, and betraying them to his Enemies. The other was, That he would allow them a Guard out of the City of London, to be commanded by the Earl of Essex; for which they pretended they could not else sit in Safety: which Pretence was nothing but an upbraiding of his Majesty for coming to Parliament better accompany'd than ordinary, to seize the said five seditious Members.

B. I see no Reason, why, in petitioning for a Guard, they should determine it to be out of the City of London in particular, and the Command of it to be given, by Name, to the Earl of Essex; unless they meant that the King should understand it to be for a Guard against himself.

A. Their meaning was, that the King should understand it so, and (as I verily believe) they meant he should take it.

The Proceedings of the Parliament after the King's attempt to seize the persons of the five members of the House of Commons.

for an Affront; and the King himself understanding it so, deny'd to grant it; though he were willing, if they could not otherwise be satisfy'd, to command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to God Almighty. Besides this, the City of London petitioned the King (put upon it, no doubt, by some members of the lower House) to put the Tower of London into the Hands of Persons of Trust, meaning such as the Parliament should approve of; and to appoint a Guard for the safety of his Majesty and the Parliament. This Method of bringing petitions in a tumultuous Manner by great Multitudes of clamorous People, was ordinary with the House of Commons, whose Ambition could never have been served by way of Prayer and Request, without extraordinary Terror.

After the King had waved the Prosecution of the five Members, but denyed to make-known to them the Names of those who had advised him to come in person to the House of Commons to demand them, they questioned the Attorney-General, who, by the King's Command, had exhibited Articles against them, and voted him to have been thereby a Breaker of the Privilege of Parliament, and, no doubt, would have made him feel their Cruelty, if he had not speedily fled the Land.

About the End of January, they made an order of both Houses of Parliament to prevent the going-over of Popish Commanders into Ireland; not so much fearing that, as that by this the King himself chusing his Commanders for that Service, might aid himself out of Ireland against the Parliament. But this was no great matter in respect of a petition which they sent his Majesty about the same Time, that is to say, about the 27th or 28th of January, 1641*, wherein they desired, in Effect, the absolute Sovereignty of England, though by the Name of Sovereignty they challenged it not, whilst the King was living: For to the End that the Fears and Dangers of this Kingdom might be removed, and the mischievous Designs of those who are Enemies to the Peace of it, might be prevented, they pray; That his Majesty would be pleased to put forthwith, 1. The Tower of London; 2. All other Forts; 3. The whole Militia of the Kingdom, into the Hands of such persons

* That is, 1641--42.

The Parliament petitions the King to settle the Lords-Lieutenants of Counties, and the other Officers of the Militia of the Kingdom, by an Act of Parliament.

Jan. 28, 1641-42.

sons as should be recommended to him by both the Houses of Parliament.. And this they style a necessary Petition.

B. Were there really any such Fears and Dangers generally conceived here? or did there appear any Enemies at that time with such Designs as are mentioned in the Petition?

A. Yes: but no other fear of Danger, but such as any discreet and honest Man might justly have of the Designs of the Parliament itself, who were the greatest Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom that could possibly be. 'Tis also worth observing, that this Petition began with these Words, *Most Gracious Sovereign*: So stupid they were as not to know, that he that is Master of the Militia, is Master of the Kingdom, and consequently is in Possession of a most absolute Sovereignty. The King was now at Windsor, to avoid the Tumults of the Common People before the Gates of Whitehall, together with their Clamours and Affronts there. The 9th of February after the presenting this Petition to him, he came to Hampton-Court, and thence he went to Dover with the Queen and the Princess of Orange, his Daughter; where the Queen, with the Princess of Orange, embarked for Holland; but the King returned to Greenwich, whence he sent for the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, and so went with them towards York.

B. Did the Lords join with the Commons in this Petition for the Militia?

A. It appears so by the Title: but I believe they Durst not but do it. The House of Commons took them for a Cypher; Men of Title only, without real Power.. Perhaps also the most of them thought, that the taking of the Militia from the King would be an Addition to their own Power. But they were very much mistaken; for the House of Commons never intended they should be Sharers in it.

B. What Answer did the King make to this Petition?

A. That, when he shall know the Extent of Power, which is intended to be established in those Persons, whom they desire to be the Commanders of the Militia in the several Counties, and likewise to what Time it shall be limited, that no Power shall be executed by his Majesty alone without the Advice of Parliament; then he will declare, that (for the securing them from all Dangers or

The King's Answer
to the said Petition,

Jealousies of any) his Majesty will be content to put into all the Places, both Forts and Militia in the several Counties, such Persons as both the Houses of Parliament shall either approve, or recommend unto him; so that they declare before unto his Majesty the Names of the Persons whom they approve or recommend; unless such Persons shall be named, against whom he shall have just and unquestionable Exceptions.

B. What Power, for what Time, and to whom, did the Parliament grant, concerning the Militia?

A. The same Power which the King had before planted in his Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in the several Counties, and without other Limitation of Time but their own Pleasure.

B. Who were the Men that had this Power?

A. There is a Catalogue of them printed. They are very many, and most of them Lords. Nor is it necessary to have them named: for to name them is, in my Opinion, to brand them with the Mark of Disloyalty, or of Folly. When they had made a Catalogue of them, they sent it to the King with a new Petition for the Militia: Also presently after they sent a Message to his Majesty, praying him to leave the Prince at Hampton-Court; but the King granted neither of them.

B. Howsoever it was well done of them to get Hostages (if they could) of the King, before he went from them.

A. In the mean Time, to raise Money for the reducing of Ireland, the Parliament invited Men to bring-in Money by way of Adventure, according to these Propositions.

1. That two millions and five hundred thousand Acres of Land in Ireland should be assigned to the Adventurers in this Proposition,

	<i>l.</i>	
For an Adventure of	{	200—1000 Acres in Ulster.
		300—1000 Acres in Connaught.
		450—1000 Acres in Munster.
		600—1000 Acres in Leinster.

All according to English Measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable, and Profitable Pasture; Boggs, Woods, and barren Mountains being cast-in over and above. 2.

A Revenue

The King gives his Assent to an Act of Parliament, for raising money for suppressing the Rebellion in Ireland.

A Revenue was reserved to the Crown from 1*d.* to 3*d.* on every Acre. 3. That Commissions should be sent by the Parliament to erect Manors, settle Wastes and Commons, maintain preaching Ministers, to create Corporations, and to regulate Plantations: The rest of the Propositions concern only the Times and Manner of Payment of the Sums subscribed by the Adventurers. And to these Propositions his Majesty assented; but to the Petition of the Militia his Majesty denied his Assent.

But refuses to assent to the Act for the Militia.

B. If he had not, I should have thought it a great Wonder. What Did the Parliament after this?

A. They sent him another Petition, which was presented to him when he was at Theobalds, in his Way to York; wherein they tell him plainly, That, unless he be pleased to assure them by those Messengers then sent, that he would speedily apply his Royal Assent to the Satisfaction of their former Desires, they shall be enforced, for the Safety of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of both Houses, &c. They petition his Majesty also to let the Prince stay at St. James's, or some other of his Majesty's Houses near London. They tell him also, that the Power of raising, ordering, and disposing of the Militia cannot be granted to any Corporation without the Authority and Consent of Parliament, and those Parts of the Kingdom, which have put themselves into a Posture of Defence, have done nothing therein, but by Direction of both Houses, and what is justifiable by the Laws of this Kingdom.

B. What Answer made the King to this?

A. It was a putting of themselves into Arms, and under Officers such as the Parliament should approve of. 4. They voted, that his Majesty should be again desired that the Prince might continue about London. Lastly, they voted a Declaration to be sent to his Majesty by both the Houses; wherein they accuse his Majesty of a Design of altering Religion, though not directly him, but them that counselled him; whom they also accused of being the Inviters and Fomenters of the Scotch War, and Framers of the Rebellion in Ireland; and upbraid the King again for accusing the Lord Kimbolton, and the five Members, and of being privy to the Purpose of bringing-up

The Parliament
makes an Ordinance
to raise the Militia
without the King's
consent.

his Army, which was raised against the Scots, to be employed against the Parliament. To which his Majesty sent his Answer from Newmarket. Whereupon it was resolved by both Houses, that, in this Case of Extreme Danger, and of his Majesty's Refusal, the Ordinance agreed-upon by both Houses for the Militia, doth oblige the People by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; and also, that whosoever shall execute any Power over the Militia, by colour of any Commission of Lieutenancy, without Consent of both Houses of Parliament, shall be accounted a Disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom. Whereupon his Majesty sent a Message to both Houses from Huntingdon, requiring Obedience to the Laws established, and prohibiting all Subjects, upon Pretence of their Ordinance, to execute any thing concerning the Militia, which is not by those Laws warranted. Upon this the Parliament vote a Standing to their former Votes; as also, that, when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, (which is the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom,) shall declare what the Law of the Land is; to have this not only questioned, but contradicted, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

B. I thought that he that makes the Law, ought to declare what the Law is; for what is it else to make a Law, but to declare what it is? So that they have taken from the King, not only the Militia, but also the Legislative Power.

A. They have so; but I make account that the Legislative Power (and indeed all Power possible) is contained in the Power of the Militia. After this they seize such Money as was due to his Majesty upon the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, and upon the Bill of Subsidies, that they might disable him every Way they possibly could. They sent him also many other contumelious Messages and Petitions, after his coming to York: amongst which one was; That, whereas the Lord-Admiral, by Indisposition of Body, could not command the Fleet in Person, he would be pleased to give Authority to the Earl of Warwick to supply his Place; when they knew the King had put Sir John Pennington in it before.

B. To what End did the King entertain so many Petitions,

tions, Messages, Declarations, and Remonstrances, and vouchsafe his Answers to them, when he could not chuse, but clearly see, they were resolved to take from him his Royal Power, and consequently his Life? For it could not stand with their Safety to let either him, or his Issue, live, after they had done him so great Injuries.

A. Besides this, the Parliament had at the same Time a Committee residing at York, to spy what his Majesty did, and to inform the Parliament thereof, and also to hinder the King from gaining the People of that Country to his Party: So that, when his Majesty was courting the Gentlemen there, the Committee was instigating the Yeomanry against him. To which also the Ministers did very much contribute: So that the King lost his Opportunity at York.

B. Why did not the King seize the Committee into his Hands, or drive them out of the Town?

A. I know not: but I believe he knew the Parliament had a greater Party than he, not only in Yorkshire, but also in York.

Towards the End of April, the King, upon Petition of the People of Yorkshire, to have the Magazine of Hull, to remain still there, for the greater Security of the Northern Parts, thought fit to take it into his own Hands. He had a little before appointed Governour of that Town, the Earl of Newcastle; but the Townsmen, having been already corrupted by the Parliament, refused to receive him, but refused not to receive Sir John Hotham, appointed to be Governour by the Parliament. The King therefore, coming unto the Town, guarded only by his own Servants, and a few Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts, was denied Entrance by Sir John Hotham, who stood upon the Wall; for which Act he presently caused Sir John Hotham to be proclaimed a Traitor, and sent a Message to the Parliament, requiring Justice to be done upon the said Hotham, and that the Town and Magazine might be delivered into his Hands. To which the Parliament made no Answer, but, instead thereof, published another Declaration, in which they omitted nothing of their former Slanders against his Majesty's Government, but inserted certain Propositions declarative of their

The Parliament appoints Sir John Hotham to be Governour of the Town of Hull.

The King demands it to be delivered-up to him, but is refused entrance by Sir John Hotham.

own

own pretended Right, viz. 1. That whatsoever they declare to be Law, ought not to be questioned by the King. 2. That no Precedents can be Limits to bound their Proceedings. 3. That a Parliament for the publick Good may dispose of any Thing, wherein the King or Subject hath a Right; and that they, without the King, are this Parliament, and the Judge of this publick Good, and that the King's Consent is not necessary. 4. That no Member of either House ought to be troubled for Treason, Felony, or any other Crime, unless the Cause be first brought before the Parliament, that they may judge of the Fact, and give leave to proceed, if they see Cause. 5. That the Sovereign Power resides in both Houses, and that the King ought to have no negative Voice. 6. That the levying of Forces against the personal Commands of the King, (though accompanied with his Presence) is not levying War against the King; but the levying of War against his politic Person, viz. his Laws, &c. 7. That Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise than as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharges that Trust; and that they have a Power to judge whether he have discharged this Trust or not. 8. That they may dispose of the King when they will.

B. This is plain dealing, and without Hypocrisy. Could the City of London swallow this?

A. Yes; and more too, if need be. London, you know, has a great belly, but no Palate, nor taste of Right and Wrong. In the Parliament-Roll of Henry IV. amongst the Articles of the Oath the King at his Coronation took, there is one runs thus: *Concedes justas Leges et Consuetudines esse tenendas; et promittes per te eas esse protegendas, et ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas vulgus elegerit.* Which the Parliament urged for the legislative Authority, and therefore interpret *quas vulgus elegerit*, which the People shall chuse; as if the King should swear to protect and corroborate Laws, before they were made, whether they be good or bad; whereas the Words signify no more, but that he shall protect and corroborate such Laws as they have chosen, that is to say, the Acts of Parliament then in being. And in the Records

cords of the Exchequer it is thus : *Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightful Customs which the Commonality of this your Kingdom have; and will you defend and uphold them ?* &c. And this was the Answer his Majesty made to that Point.

B. And I think this Answer very full and clear. But, if the Words were to be interpreted in the other Sense, yet I see no reason why the King should be bound to swear to them : for Henry IV. came to the Crown by the Votes of a Parliament, not much inferiour in Wickedness to this long Parliament, that deposed and murdered their lawful King ; saving that it was not the Parliament itself, but the Usurper that murdered King Richard II.

A. About a Week after, in the Beginning of May, the Parliament sent the King another Paper, which they styled the humble Petition and Advice of both Houses, containing nineteen Propositions ; which when you shall hear, you shall be able to judge what Power they meant to leave the King, more than to any one of his Subjects. The first of them is this :

The Parliament, in May, 1642, sends nineteen Propositions to the King.

1. That the Lords, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council, and all great Officers of State, both at home and abroad, be put from their Employments, and from his Council ; save only such as should be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, and none put into their Places, but by Approbation of the said Houses. And that all Privy-Councillors take an Oath for the due Execution of their Places, in such Form as shall be agreed upon by the said Houses.

2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom be debated, resolved and transacted only in Parliament ; and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, be reserved to the Censure of the Parliament, and such other matters of State, as are proper for his Majesty's Privy-Council, shall be debated, and concluded by such as shall from time to time be chosen for that Place by both Houses of Parliament ; and that no public Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for his privy-Council, be esteemed valid, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major Part of the Council, attested under their Hands :
that

that the Council be not more than 25, or less than 14; and that when a Councillor's place falls void in the interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the Assent of the Major part of the Council; and that such Choice also shall be void, if the next Parliament alter confirm it not.

3. That the Lord High-Steward of England, Lord High-Constable, Lord-Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord-Treasurer, Lord Privy-Seal, Earl-Marshal, Lord-Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Governour of Ireland, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, the two Chief-Justices and the Chief-Baron, be always chosen with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Major part of the Privy-Council.

4. That the Government of the King's Children shall be committed to such as both Houses shall approve-of, and in the Intervals of Parliament, such as the Privy-Council shall approve-of; that the Servants then about them, against whom the Houses have just Exception, should be removed.

5. That no Marriage be concluded, or treated-of, for any of the King's Children, without the Consent of Parliament.

6. That the Laws in Force against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, be strictly put in Execution.

7. That the Votes of Popish Lords in the House of Peers be taken-away, and that a Bill be passed for the Education of the Children of Papists in the Protestant Religion.

8. That the King will be pleased to reform the Church-Government and the Liturgy, in such Manner as both Houses of Parliament shall advise.

9. That he would be pleased to rest satisfied with that Course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering the Militia, and recall his Declarations and Proclamations against it.

10. That such Members as have been put out of any Place or Office, since this Parliament began, may be restored, or have Satisfaction.

11. That all Privy-Councillors and Judges take an Oath, (the Form whereof shall be agreed-on, and settled by Act of Parliament) for the maintaining the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by the Parliament.

12. That all the Judges and Officers placed by Approbation of both Houses of Parliament, may hold their Places *quam diu bene se gesserint*.

13. That the Justice of Parliament may pass upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it; and that all Persons cited by either House of Parliament may appear and abide the Censure of Parliament.

14. That the General Pardon offered by his Majesty be granted with such Exceptions, as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

B. What a spiteful Article was this! All the rest proceeded from Ambition, which many Times well-natured Men are subject to; but this proceeded from an inhuman and devilish Cruelty.

A. 15. That the Forts and Castles be put under the Command of such Persons, as, with the Approbation of the Parliament, the King shall appoint.

16. That the extraordinary Guards about the King be discharged; and for the future none raised, but according to the Law in case of actual Rebellion, or Invasion.

B. Methinks these very Propositions sent to the King are an actual Rebellion.

A. 17. That his Majesty enter into a more strict Alliance with the United Provinces, and other neighbouring Protestant Princes and States.

18. That his Majesty be pleased, by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord Kimbolton, and the five Members of the House of Commons, in such Manner as that future Parliaments may be secured from the Consequence of that evil Precedent.

19. That his Majesty be pleased to pass a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter, from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted with Consent of both Houses of Parliament.

These Propositions being granted: they promise to apply themselves

themselves to regulate his Majesty's Revenue to his best Advantage, and to settle it to the Support of his Royal Dignity in Honour and Plenty ; and also to put the Town of Hull into such Hands as his Majesty shall appoint, with Consent of Parliament :

B. Is not that to put it into such Hands as his Majesty shall appoint by the Consent of the Petitioners, which is no more than to keep it in their Hands as it is ? Did they want, or think the King wanted common Sense, so as not to perceive that their promise herein was worth nothing ?

The King refuses to grant these nineteen Propositions, and both Parties prepare for War.

A. After the sending of these Propositions to the King, and his Majesty's Refusal to grant them, they began, on both Sides, to prepare for War. The King raised a Guard for his person in Yorkshire, and the Parliament thereupon having voted, that the King intended to make War upon his Parliament, gave Order for the mustering and exercising the People in Arms, and published Propositions to invite and encourage them to bring in either ready Money or Plate, or to promise under their Hands to furnish and maintain certain Numbers of Horse, Horsemen and Arms, for the Defence of the King and Parliament, (meaning by King, as they had formerly declined, not his Person, but his Laws) promising to repay their Money with interest of 8*l.* in the 100*l.* and the Value of their Plate, with 12*d.* the Ounce for the Fashion. On the other side the King came to Nottingham, and there did set-up his Standard-Royal, and sent-out Commissions of Array, to call those to him, who, by the ancient Laws of England, were bound to serve him in the Wars. Upon this Occasion there passed divers Declarations between the King and Parliament, concerning the Legality of this Array, which are too long to tell you at this Time.

B. Nor do I desire to hear any Mooting about this Question : for I think that general Law of *Salus Populi*, and the Right of defending himself, against those that had taken from him the Sovereign Power, are sufficient to make legal whatsoever he should do, in order to the Recovery of his Kingdom, or to the punishing of the Rebels.

A. In

A. In the mean time the Parliament raised an Army, and made the Earl of Essex General thereof; by which Act they declared what they meant formerly, when they petitioned the King for a Guard to be commanded by the said Earl of Essex: and now the King sends-out his Proclamations, forbidding Obedience to the Orders of the Parliament concerning the Militia; and the Parliament sends out Orders against the Execution of the Commissions of Array. Hitherto, though it were a War before, yet there was no Blood shed; they shot at one another nothing but Paper.

B. I understand now how the Parliament destroyed the Peace of the Kingdom; and how easily, by the Help of seditious Presbyterian Ministers, and of ambitious, ignorant, Orators, they reduced this Government into Anarchy: but I believe it will be a harder Task for them to bring-in Peace again, and settle the Government either in themselves, or any other Governour or Form of Government. For, granting that they obtained the Victory in this War, they must be beholden for it to the Valour, good Conduct, or Felicity, of those to whom they give the Command of their Armies; especially to the General: whose good Success will, without Doubt, draw with it the Love and Admiration of the Soldiers; so that it will be in his Power, either to take the Government upon himself, or to place it where himself thinks good. In which case, if he take it not to himself, he will be thought a Fool; and, if he do, he shall be sure to have the Envy of his subordinate Commanders, who will look for a Share, either in the present Government, or in the Succession to it: for they will say, Has he obtained this Power by his own Efforts without our Danger, Valour, and Counsel? and must we be his Slaves, whom we have thus raised? or is not there as much Justice on our Side against him, as was on his Side against the King?

A. They will, and they did say so; insomuch that the Reason why Cromwell, after he had gotten into his own Hands the absolute Power of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the Name of Protector, did never dare to take upon him the title of King, nor was ever able to settle it
upon

upon his Children. His Officers would not suffer it, as pretending after his Death to succeed him; nor would the Army consent to it, because he had ever declared to them, against the Government of a single Person.

B. But to return to the King. What Means had he to pay; what provision had he to arm; nay, to levy an Army able to resist the Army of the Parliament, maintained by the great Purse of the City of London, and Contributions of almost all the Towns Corporate in England, and furnished with Arms as fully as they could require?

A. 'Tis true, the King had great Disadvantages: and yet, by little and little, he got a considerable Army, with which he so prospered, as to grow stronger every Day, and the Parliament weaker, till they had gotten the Scots, with an Army of 21,000 Men, to come into England to their Assistance. But to enter into the particular Narration of what was done in the War, I have not now Time.

B Well then, we will talk of that at next meeting.

BEHEMOTH.

PART III.

B. **W**E left-off at the Preparations on both Sides for War: which when I considered by myself, I was mightily puzzled to find-out what Possibility there was for the King to equal the Parliament in such a Course; and what Hopes he had of Money, Men, Arms, fortified Places, Shipping, Council, and Military Officers, sufficient for such an Enterprize against the Parliament, that had Men and Money as much at command, as the City of London, and other Corporation-Towns were able to furnish, which was more than they needed. And, for the Men they should set-forth for Soldiers, they were, almost all of them, spightfully bent against the King and his whole Party; whom they took to be either Papists, or Flatterers of the King, or bold and avaritious adventurers, that had designed to raise their Fortunes by the Plunder of the City and other Corporation-Towns. And, though I believe not that they were more valiant than other Men, nor that they had so much Experience in the War, as to be accounted good Soldiers; yet they had that in them, which, in time of Battle, is more conducing to Victory than Valour and Experience both together; and that was Spight.

And for Arms, they had in their Hands the chief Magazines, the Tower of London, and the Town of Kingston upon Hull, besides most of the Powder and Shot

that lay in several Towns, for the Use of the Trained Bands.

Fortified Places there were not many then in England, and most of them in the Hands of the Parliament.

The King's Fleet was wholly in their Command under the Earl of Warwick.

Of Counsellors they needed no more than such as were of their own Body; so that the King was every way inferiour to them, except it were perhaps in Officers.

The Earl of Essex is made General of the Parliament's Army.

A. I cannot compare their Chief Officers. For the Parliament, the Earl of Essex (after the Parliament had voted the War) was made General of all their Forces, both in England and Ireland; from whom all other Commanders were to receive their Commissions.

B. What moved them to make the Earl of Essex their General? And for what cause was the Earl of Essex so displeased with the King, as to accept that Office?

A. I do not certainly know what to answer to either of those Questions: But the Earl of Essex had been in the Wars Abroad, and wanted neither Experience, Judgment, nor Courage, to perform such an Undertaking. And besides that, you have heard, I believe, how great a Darling of the People his Father had been before him, and what Honour he had gotten by the Success of his Enterprize upon Cales, and in some other Military Actions. To which I may add, that this Earl himself was not held by the People to be so great a favourite at Court, as that they might not trust him with their Army against the King. And by this you may perhaps conjecture the Cause for which the Parliament made Choice of him for General.

B. But why did they think him discontented with the Court?

A. I know not that; nor indeed that he was so. He came to the Court as other Noblemen did, when Occasion was, to wait upon the King; but had no Office, till a little before this Time, to oblige him to be there continually. But I believe verily, that the Unfortunateness of his Marriages had so discountenanced his Conversation with the Ladies, that the Court could not be his proper Element,

ment, unless he had some extraordinary Favour there to balance that Calamity : but for particular Discontent from the King, or Intention of Revenge for any supposed Disgrace, I think he had none, nor that he was any ways addicted to Presbyterian Doctrines, or other Fanatick Tenets in Church or State ; saving only, that he was carried-away with the Stream (in a manner) of the whole Nation, to think that England was not an absolute, but a mixt, Monarchy : not considering that the supreme Power must always be absolute, whether it be in the King, or in the Parliament.

B. Who was the General of the King's Army?

A. None yet, but himself ; nor indeed had he yet any Army ; but there coming to him at that Time his two Nephews, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, he put the Command of his Horse into the Hands of Prince Rupert, a Man, than whom no Man living has a better Courage, nor was more active and diligent in prosecuting his Commissions ; and, though but a young Man then, was not without Experience in the conducting of Soldiers ; as having been an Actor in part of his Father's Wars in Germany.

Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, is made General of the King's Horse.

B. But how could the King find Money to pay such an Army as was necessary for him to make head against the Parliament ?

A. Neither the King nor the Parliament had much Money at that Time, in their own Hands, but were fain to rely upon the Benevolence of those that took their Parts. Wherein I confess, the Parliament had a mighty great Advantage. Those that helped the King in that kind were only Lords and Gentlemen, who, not approving the proceedings of the Parliament, were willing to undertake the Payment every one of a certain Number of Horse-Soldiers ; which cannot be thought any very great Assistance, the Persons that payed them being so few. For other Moneys that the King then had, I have not heard of any, but what he borrowed upon Jewels in the Low-Countries. Whereas the Parliament had a very plentiful Contribution, not only from London, but generally from their Faction in all other Places of England, upon certain Propositions (published by the Lords and Commons

The two Houses of Parliament raised money for the service of the war by borrowing of the

ple who were willing to lend it, and engaging the Publick Faith for the repayment of it, in June, 1642.

in June 1642, at which Time they had newly voted, that the King intended to make War upon them) for bringing-in of Money or Plate to maintain Horse and Horsemen, and to buy Arms for the Preservation of the publick Peace, and for the Defence of the King, and both Houses of Parliament: for the Repayment of which Money and Plate they were to have the Publick Faith.

B. What Publick Faith is there, when there is no Publick? What is it that can be called Publick in a Civil War without the King?

A. The Truth is, the Security was nothing worth; but it served well enough to gull those seditious Block-heads, that were more fond of Change in their Government, than either of their Peace or their Profit.

And in November, 1642, they raised money by compulsion.

Having by this Means gotten Contributions from those that were well-affected to their Cause, they made Use of it afterwards to force the like Contribution from others: for in November following they made an Ordinance for assessing also of those, that had not contributed then, or had contributed, but not proportionably to their Estates. And yet this was contrary to what the Parliament promised and declared in the Propositions themselves; for they declared in the first Proposition, That no Man's Affection should be measured by the Proportion of his Offer, so that he expressed his good Will to the Service in any Proportion whatsoever.

And, in March, 1642-43, they imposed by an ordinance large weekly contributions throughout England.

Besides this, in the Beginning of March following, they made an Ordinance to levy weekly a great Sum of Money upon every County, City, Town, Place and Person of any Estate almost in England; which weekly Sum (as may appear by the Ordinance itself, printed and published in March 1642, by order of both Houses) comes to almost 33,000*l.* and consequently to above 1,700,000*l.* for the Year. They had besides all this, the Profits of the King's Lands and Woods, and whatsoever was remaining unpaid of any Subsidy formerly granted him, and the Tonnage and Poundage usually received by the King; besides the Profit of the Sequestrations of great Persons, whom they pleased to vote Delinquents, and the Profits of the Bishops' Lands, which

which they took to themselves a Year or a little more after.

B. Seeing then the Parliament had such Advantage of the King in Money, and Arms, and Multitude of Men, and had in their Hands the King's Fleet; I cannot imagine what Hope the King could have, either of Victory, (unless he resigned into their Hands the Sovereignty) or of subsisting: For I cannot well believe he had any Advantage of them, either in Counsellors or Conductors, or in the Resolutions of his Soldiers.

A. On the contrary, I think he had also some Disadvantage in that: For, though he had as good Officers, at least, as any who then served the Parliament, yet, I doubt, he had not so useful Counsel as was necessary; and, for his Soldiers, though they were Men as stout as those of the Parliament, yet, because their Valour was not sharpened so with Malice, as theirs was of the other Side, they fought not so keenly as their Enemies did: Amongst whom there were a great many London Apprentices, who, for want of Experience in the War, would have been fearful enough of Death and Wounds approaching visibly in glistering Swords; but, for want of Judgement, scarce thought of such Death as comes invisibly in a Bullet, and therefore were very hardly to be driven out of the Field.

B. But what Fault do you find in the King's Counsellors, Lords, and other Persons of Quality and Experience?

A. Only that Fault, which was generally in the whole Nation; which was, that they thought the Government of England was not an absolute, but a mixt, Monarchy; and, that, if the King should clearly subdue this Parliament, his Power would be whatever he pleased to make it, and theirs as little as he pleased; which they counted Tyranny. This Opinion, though it did not lessen their Endeavour to gain the Victory for the King in a Battle, when a Battle could not be avoided, yet it weakened their Endeavour to procure him an absolute Victory in the War. And for this Cause, notwithstanding that they saw that the Parliament was firmly resolved to take all Kingly Power whatsoever out of his Hands; yet their Counsel to the King was, upon all Occasions, to offer Propositions

to them of Treaty and Accommodation, and to make and publish Declarations, which any Man might easily have foreseen would be fruitless ; and not only so, but also of great Disadvantage to those Actions by which the King was to recover his Crown, and preserve his Life : For it took-off the Courage of the best and forwardest of his Soldiers, that looked for great Benefit by their Service out of the Estates of the Rebels, in case they should subdue them ; but none at all, if the business should be ended by a Treaty.

B. And they had Reason : For a Civil War never ends by Treaty without the Sacrifice of those, who were on both Sides the sharpest. You know well enough how things pass'd at the Reconciliation of Augustus and Antonius in Rome. But I thought, that, after they once began to levy Soldiers one against another, they would not any more have return'd, on either Side, to Declarations, or other Paper-War ; which, if it could have done any Good, would have done it long before this.

A. But seeing the Parliament continued writing, and set-forth their Declarations to the People against the Lawfulness of the King's Commission of Array, and sent Petitions to the King, as fierce and rebellious as ever they had done before, demanding of him, That he would disband his Soldiers, and come-up to the Parliament, and leave those whom the Parliament called *Delinquents* (which were none but the King's best Subjects) to their Mercy, and pass such Bills as they should advise him ; would you not have the King set-forth Declarations and Proclamations against the legality of their Ordinances, by which they levied Soldiers against him, and answer those insolent Petitions of theirs ?

B. No ; it had done him no good before, and therefore was not likely to do him any afterwards. For the common People, (whose Hands were to decide the Controversy,) understood not the Reasons of either Party ; and for those, that by Ambition were once set upon the Enterprize of changing the Government, they cared not much what was Reason and Justice in the Cause, but what Strength they might procure by seducing the Multitude with remonstrances from the Parliament-House,

or

or by Sermons in the Churches. And to their Petitions I would not have had any Answer made at all, more than this; "that, if they would disband their Army, and put themselves upon his Mercy, they should find him more gracious than they expected."

A. That had been a gallant Answer indeed, if it had proceeded from him after some extraordinary great Victory in Battle, or some extraordinary Assurance of a Victory at last in the whole War.

B. Why? What could have happened to him worse than at length he suffered, notwithstanding his gentle Answers, and all his reasonable Declarations?

A. Nothing; but who knew that?

B. Any Man might see, that he was never like to be restored to his Right without Victory; and such his Stoutness being known to the People, would have brought to his Assistance many more Hands than all the Arguments of Law, or Force of Eloquence couched in Declarations and other Writings, could have done, by far: and I wonder what kind of Men they were that hindered the King from taking this Résolution?

A. You may know by the Declarations themselves, (which are very long and full of Quotations of Records, and of Cases formerly reported;) that the Penners of them were either Lawyers by profession, or such Gentlemen as had the Ambition to be thought so. Besides, I told you before, that those which were then likeliest to have their Counsel asked in this Business, were averse to absolute Monarchy, as also to absolute Democracy, or Aristocracy; all which Governments they esteemed Tyranny, and were in Love with a sort of Monarchy, which they used to praise by the Name of *mixt Monarchy*, though it were indeed nothing else but pure Anarchy. And those Men, whose Pens the King most used in these Controversies of Law and Politics, were such (if I have not been misinformed) as having been Members of this Parliament, had declaimed against Ship-Money, and other extra-parliamentary Taxes, as much as any; but, when they saw the parliament grow higher in their Demands, than they thought they would have done, went over to the King's party.

B. Who were those?

A. It is not necessary to name any Man, seeing I have undertaken only a short Narration of the Follies and other Faults of Men, during this Trouble ; but not (by naming the Persons) to give you, or any Man else, Occasion to esteem them the less, now that the Faults on all Sides have been forgiven.

B. When the Business was brought to this Height by levying of Soldiers, and seizing of the Navy and Arms, and other Provisions on both Sides, that no Man was so blind as not to see, that they were in an Estate of War one against another ; why did not the King, by Proclamation or Message, according to his undoubted Right, dissolve the Parliament, and thereby diminish, in some degree, the Authority of their Levies, and of other their unjust Ordinances?

A. You have forgotten that I told you, that the King himself (by a Bill that he passed, at the same time when he passed the Bill for the Execution of the Earl of Strafford,) had given them Authority to hold the Parliament till they should, by Consent of both Houses, dissolve themselves. If therefore he had by any Proclamation, or Message to the Houses, dissolved them, they would, to their former Defamations of his Majesty's Actions, have added this, that he was a Breaker of his Word ; and not only, in Contempt of him, have continued their Session, but also have made Advantage of it, to the Increase and strengthening of their own Party.

B. Would not the King's raising of an Army against them be interpreted, as a Purpose to dissolve them by Force ? and was it not as great a breach of Promise to scatter them by Force, as to dissolve them by Proclamation ? Besides, I cannot conceive, that the passing of that Act, was otherwise intended than conditionally ; so long as they should not ordain any thing contrary to the Sovereign Right of the King ; which Condition they had already, by many of their Ordinances, broken. And I think, that even by the Law of equity, (which is the unalterable Law of Nature,) a Man that has the Sovereign Power, cannot, if he would, give-away the Right of any thing which it is necessary for him to retain for the good
Government

Government of his Subjects, unless he do it in express Words, saying, that he will have the Sovereign Power no longer. For the giving-away that, which, by Consequence only, draws the Sovereignty along with it, is not, I think, a giving-away of the Sovereignty, but an Error; such as works nothing but an Invalidity in the Grant itself. And such was the King's passing of this Bill for the continuing of the Parliament as long as the two Houses pleased. But, now that the War was resolved-on, on both Sides, what needed any more Dispute in Writing?

A. I know not what need they had: But, on both Sides, they thought it needful to hinder one another, as much as they could, from levying of Soldiers. And therefore the King did set-forth Declarations in Print to make the People know, that they ought not to obey the Officers of the new Militia, set-up by the Ordinance of Parliament, and also to let them see the Legality of his own Commissions of Array. And the Parliament, on their part, did the like to justify to the People the said Ordinance, and to make the Commission of Array appear unlawful.

B. When the Parliament were levying of Soldiers, was it not lawful for the King to levy Soldiers to defend himself and his Right, though there had been no other Title for it, but his own Preservation, and though the Name of a *Commission of Array* had never before been heard-of?

A. For my Part (I think) there cannot be a better Title for War, than the Defence of a Man's own Right. But the People, at that Time, thought nothing lawful for the King to do, for which there was not some Statute made by Parliament. For the Lawyers, I mean the Judges of the Courts at Westminster, and some few others, though but Advocates, yet of great Reputation for their Skill in the Common Laws and Statutes of England, had infected most of the Gentry of England with their Maxims and Cases prejudged, which they call *Precedents*; and made them think so well of their own Knowledge in the Law, that they were very glad of this Occasion to shew it against the King, and thereby to gain a Reputation with the Parliament of being good Patriots, and wise Statesmen.

B. What was this Commission of Array?

A.

Of the King's Com-
missions of Array.

A. King William the Conqueror had gotten into his Hands, by Victory, all the Land in England, of which he disposed some Part, as Forests and Chases, for his Recreation ; and some Part to Lords and Gentlemen that had assisted him, or were to assist him, in the Wars : upon which he laid a Charge of Service in his Wars, for some to serve him with more Men, and some with fewer, according to the quantity and value of the Lands he had given them ; whereby, when the King sent Men unto them with Commissions, to make use of their Service, they were obliged to appear with Arms and to accompany the King to the Wars for a certain Time, at their own Charges. And such were the Commissions by which this King did then make his Levies.

B. Why then was it not legal ?

A. No doubt but it was legal ; but what did that amount to with Men that were already resolved to acknowledge for Law nothing that was against their Design of abolishing Monarchy, and placing a Sovereign and absolute, arbitrary, Power in the House of Commons.

B. To destroy Monarchy, and set-up the House of Commons are two Businesses.

A. They found it so at last ; but did not think it so then.

B. Let us now come to the Military part.

A. I intended only the Story of their Injustice, Impudence, and Hypocrisy ; therefore for the proceeding of the War, I refer you to the History thereof written at large in English. I shall only make use of such a Thread as is necessary for the filling-up of such Knavery and Folly also, as I shall observe in their several Actions.

The King summons
Sir John Hotham,
the Governour of
Hull, to surrender it
to him ; but is refus-
ed entrance into it.
April, 23, 1642.

From York the King went to Hull, where was his Magazine of Arms for the Northern parts of England, to try if they would admit him. The Parliament had made Sir John Hotham Governour of the Town, who caused the Gates to be shut, and presenting himself upon the Walls, flatly denied him Entrance ; for which the King caused him to be proclaimed a Traitor ; and sent a Message to the Parliament to know if they owned the Action.

B. Upon what Grounds ?

A. Their Pretence was this, that neither this, nor any other Town in England, was otherwise the King's, than in trust for the People in England.

B.

B. But what was that to the Parliament?

A. Yes, say they; for we are the Representatives of the people of England.

B. I cannot see the Force of this Argument. We represent the People, *ergo* all that the People has is ours. The Mayor of Hull did represent the King; is therefore all that the King had in Hull the Mayor's? The People of England may be represented with Limitations, as to deliver a Petition, or the like: Does it follow, that they who deliver the petition have Right to all the Towns in England? When began this Parliament to be a Representative of England? Was it not Nov. 3, 1640? Who was it the Day before, that is November 2, that had a Right to keep the King out of Hull, and possess it for themselves? for there was then no Parliament. Whose was Hull then?

A. I think it was the King's, not only because it was called the King's Town upon Hull; but because the King himself did then and ever represent the Person of the people of England. If he did not, who then did, the Parliament having no Being?

B. They might perhaps say, the People had then no Representative.

A. Then there was no Commonwealth; and consequently all the Towns of England being the People's, you and I, and any Man else, might have put in for his Share. You may see by this what weak People they were, that were carried into the Rebellion by such reasoning as the Parliament used, and how impudent they were that did put such Fallacies upon them.

B. Surely they were such as were esteemed the wisest Men in England, being upon that Account chosen to be of the Parliament.

A. And were they also esteemed the wisest Men of England that chose them?

B. I cannot tell that: for I know it is usual with the Freeholders in the Counties, and the Tradesmen in the Cities and Boroughs, to chuse, as near as they can, such as are most repugnant to the giving of Subsidies.

A. The King in the Beginning of August, after he had summoned

The King sets up his
Standard-royal at
Nottingham. August
5, 1642.

summoned Hull, and tried some of the Counties thereabout, what they would do for him, sets-up his Standard at Nottingham; but there came not thither Men enough to make an Army sufficient to give Battle to the Earl of Essex. From thence he went to Shrewsbury, where he was quickly furnished; and appointing the Earl of Lindsey to be General, he resolved to march towards London. The Earl of Essex was now at Worcester with the Parliament's Army, making no offer to stop him in his passage; but, as soon as he was gone by, marched close after him.

The Battle of Edge-
hill, or Keynton,
October 23, 1642.

The King therefore, to avoid being inclosed between the Army of the Earl of Essex and the City of London, turned upon him, and gave him Battle at Edgehill; where, though he got not an entire Victory, yet he had the better, if either had the better, and had certainly the fruit of a Victory, which was to march-on in his intended Way towards London; in which march, the next Morning, he took Banbury-Castle, and from thence went to Oxford, and thence to Brainford, where he gave a great Defeat to three Regiments of the Parliament's Forces, and so returned to Oxford.

B. Why did not the King go-on from Brainford?

A. The Parliament, upon the first Notice of the King's marching from Shrewsbury, caused all the Train-bands, and the Auxiliaries of the City of London, (which was so frightened as to shut up all their Shops) to be drawn-forth; so that there was a most compleat and numerous Army ready for the Earl of Essex, that was crept into London just at the Time to head it; and this was it that made the King retire to Oxford. In the Beginning of February after, Prince Rupert took Cirencester from the Parliament with many Prisoners and many Arms: for it was newly made a Magazine. And thus stood the Business between the King's and the Parliament's greatest Forces. The Parliament in the mean time caused a line of Communication to be made about London and the Suburbs, of twelve miles in Compass, and constituted a Committee for the Association, and the putting into a posture of Defence of the Counties of Essex, Cambridge, Suffolk, and some others; and one of these Commissioners was Oliver Cromwell,

from

from which Employment he came to his following Greatness.

B. What was done, during this Time, in other parts of the Country?

A. In the West the Earl of Stamford had the Employment of putting in Execution the Ordinance of Parliament for the Militia; and Sir Ralph Hopton for the King executed the Commission of Array. Between these two was fought a Battle at Liskeard in Cornwall, wherein Sir Ralph Hopton had the Victory, and presently took a Town called Saltash with many Arms, and much Ordnance, and many Prisoners. Sir William Waller in the mean time seized Winchester and Chichester for the Parliament.

In the North, for the Commission of Array my Lord of Newcastle, and for the Militia of the Parliament was my Lord Fairfax. My Lord of Newcastle took from the Parliament Tadcaster, in which were a great Part of the Parliament's Forces for that Country, and had made himself in a manner Master of all the North. About this time, that is to say, in February, the Queen landed at Burlington, and was conducted by my Lord of Newcastle, and the Marquiss of Montrosse, to York, and not long after to the King. Divers other little Advantages, besides these, the King's Party had over the Parliament's in the North.

There happened also between the Militia of the Parliament, and the Commission of Array in Staffordshire, under my Lord Brook for the Parliament, and my Lord of Northampton for the King, great Contention, wherein both these Commanders were slain; for my Lord Brook besieging Litchfield close, was killed with a Shot; notwithstanding which they gave not over the Siege till they were Masters of the Close. But, presently after, my Lord of Northampton besieged it again for the King; which to relieve, Sir William Brereton and Sir John Gell advanced towards Litchfield, and were met at Hopton-Heath by the Earl of Northampton, and routed; the Earl himself was slain; but his Forces, with Victory, returned to the Siege again, and shortly after seconded by Prince Rupert, who was then abroad in that Country, carried the Place.

These

These were the chief Actions of this Year 1642, wherein the King's Party had not much the worse.

B. But the Parliament had now a better Army; inso-much, that, if the Earl of Essex had immediately followed the King to Oxford, (not yet well fortified) he might, in all Likelihood, have taken it: For he could not want either Men, or Ammunition, whereof the City of London (which was wholly at the Parliament's Devotion) had store enough.

A. I cannot judge of that; but this is manifest, considering the Estate the King was in at his first marching from York, when he had neither Money, nor Men, nor Arms enough to put them in hope of Victory; that this Year (take it altogether) was very prosperous.

B. But what great Folly or Wickedness do you observe in the Parliament's Actions for this first Year?

A. All that can be said against them in that Point, will be excused with the Pretext of War, and come under one Name of Rebellion; saving, that when they summoned any Town, it was always in the Name of King and Parliament, the King being in the contrary Army, and many Times beating them from the Siege. I do not see how the Right of War can justify such Impudence as that. But they pretended that the King was always virtually in the two Houses of Parliament, making a distinction between his Person Natural and Politic, which made the Impudence the greater, besides the Folly of it: For this was but an University-Quibble, such as Boys make use of in maintaining (in the Schools) such Tenets, as they cannot otherwise defend.

The Parliament solicits the assistance of the Scots against the King.

In the End of this Year they solicited also the Scots to enter England with an Army, to suppress the Power of the Earl of Newcastle in the North; which was a plain Confession, that the Parliament's Forces were at this Time inferiour to the King's; and most Men thought, that, if the Earl of Newcastle had then marched Southward, and joined his Forces with the King's, that most of the Members of Parliament would have fled out of England.

In the Beginning of 1643, the Parliament seeing the
Earl

Earl of Newcastle's Power in the North grown so formidable, sent to the Scots to hire them to an Invasion of England, and (to compliment them in the mean Time) made a Covenant amongst themselves, such as the Scots had before taken against Episcopacy, and demolished Crosses and Church-windows (such as had in them any Images of Saints) throughout all England. Also in the middle of the Year they made a solemn League with the Nation, which was called the Solemn League and Covenant.

B. Are not the Scots as properly to be called Foreigners as the Irish? Seeing then they persecuted the Earl of Strafford even to Death, for advising the King to make use of Irish Forces against the Parliament, with what Face could they call-in a Scotch Army against the King?

A. The King's Party might easily here have discerned their Design to make themselves absolute Masters of the Kingdom, and to dethrone the King. Another great Impudence, or, rather, a bestial Incivility, it was of theirs, that they voted the Queen a Traitor, for helping the King with some Ammunition and English Forces from Holland.

B. Was it possible that all this could be done, and Men not see that Papers and Declarations must be useless; and that nothing could satisfy them but the deposing of the King, and setting-up of themselves in his place?

A. Yes; very possible. For who was there of them, though knowing that the King had the Sovereign Power, that knew the essential Rights of Sovereignty? They dreamt of a mix'd Power of the King and the two Houses. "That it was a divided Power, in which there could be no Peace," was above their Understanding. Therefore they were always urging the King to Declarations and Treaties, (for fear of subjecting themselves to the King in an absolute Obedience) which increased the Hope and Courage of the Rebels, but did the King little good: for the People either understand not, or will not trouble themselves with, Controversies in Writing, but rather, by his Compliance and Messages, go away with an Opinion, that the Parliament was likely to have the Victory in the War.

War. Besides, seeing the Penners* and Contrivers of these Papers were formerly Members of the Parliament, and of another Mind, and now revolted from the Parliament, because they could not bear that Sway in the House, which they expected, Men were apt to think they believed not what they writ.

As for military Actions (to begin at the head Quarters) Prince Rupert took Birmingham, a Garrison of the Parliament's. In July after the King's Forces had a great Victory over the Parliament's near Devizes on Roundway-Down, where they took 2000 Prisoners, four Brass Pieces of Ordnance, twenty-eight Colours, and all their Baggage; and shortly after Bristol was surrender'd to Prince Rupert for the King: and the King himself march'd into the West, and took from the Parliament many considerable Places.

The Siege of Gloucester begun, Aug. 10, 1643.

It was raised by the approach of the Earl of Essex with his Army, Sept. 8, 1643.

But this good Fortune was not a little allay'd by his besieging of Gloucester, which after it was reduced to the last Gasp, was relieved by the Earl of Essex, whose Army was before greatly wasted, but now suddenly recruited with the Train'd-Bands and Apprentices of London.

B. It seems, not only by this, but also by many Examples in History, that there can hardly arise a long or dangerous Rebellion, that has not some such overgrown City, with an Army or two in its Belly, to foment it.

A. Nay more; those great capital Cities, when Rebellion is entered-into upon Pretence of Grievances, must needs be of the Rebel Party, because the Grievances are but Taxes, to which Citizens, that is, Merchants, (whose Profession is their private Gain,) are naturally mortal Enemies; their only glory being to grow excessively rich by the Wisdom of buying and selling.

B. But they are said to be of all Callings the most beneficial to the Commonwealth, by setting the poorer sort of People on Work.

A. That is to say, by making poor People sell their Labour to them, at their own Prices; so that poor People, for the most part, might get a better Living by

* The principal Penner of all these Papers of the King was *Sir Edward Hyde*, who was afterwards *Earl of Clarendon*.

working in Bridewell, than by spinning, weaving, and other such Labour, as they can do ; saving that, by working slightly, they may help themselves a little, to the Disgrace of our Manufacture. And, as, most commonly, they are the first Encouragers of Rebellion, presuming on their Strength ; so also are they, for the most part, the first to repent of having done so, when they find themselves to have been deceived and disappointed in their expectations by the subsequent selfish and disobedient conduct of those whom they had entrusted with the command of their strength.

But to return to the War ; though the King withdrew from Gloucester, yet it was not to fly from, but to fight with, the Earl of Essex ; which presently after he did at Newbury, where the Battle was bloody, and the King had not the worst, unless Cirencester be put into the Scale, which the Earl of Essex had, in his Way, a few Days before, surprized.

The first battle of Newbury, September 19, 1643.

But in the North and the West the King had much the better of the Parliament ; for in the North, at the very Beginning of the Year, March 29th, 1644, the Earls of Newcastle and Cumberland defeated the Lord Fairfax (who commanded in those Parts for the Parliament) at Bramham-Moor, which made the Parliament to hasten the Assistance of the Scots.

The Royalists defeat the Parliament's Army at Bramham-Moor. March 29, 1644.

In June following, the Earl of Newcastle routed Sir Thomas Fairfax, Son to the Lord Fairfax, upon Adderton-Heath, and in Pursuit of them to Bradford, took and kill'd 2000 Men, and the next Day took the Town and 2000 Prisoners more, (Sir Thomas himself hardly escaping) with all their Arms and Ammunition ; and besides this, made the Lord Fairfax quit Halifax and Beverly. Lastly, Prince Rupert relieved Newark, besieged by Sir John Meldrum, for the Parliament, with 7000 Men, whereof 1000 were slain ; the rest upon Articles departed, leaving behind them their Arms, Bag and Baggage.

And gain another victory over them upon Adderton-Heath ; in June, 1644.

And a third advantage over them at Newark.

To ballance in part this Success, the Earl of Manchester, (whose Lieutenant-General was Oliver Cromwell,) got a Victory over the Royalists near Horncastle, of whom he slew 400, took 800 Prisoners, and 1000 Arms, and presently after took and plundered the City of Lincoln.

But they are defeated by the Earl of Manchester at Horncastle,

In the West, May 16th, Sir Ralph Hopton, at Strat-

ton in Devonshire, had a Victory over the Parliamentarians, wherein he took 1700 Prisoners, 13 Brass Pieces of Ordnance, and all their Ammunition, which was 70 Barrels of Powder, and the Magazine of their other Provisions in the Town.

Again at Landsdown, between Sir Ralph Hopton and the Parliamentarians, under Sir William Waller, was fought a fierce Battle, wherein the Victory was not very clear on either side; saving that the Parliamentarians might seem to have the better, because presently after Sir Wm. Waller followed Sir Ralph Hopton to Devizes in Wiltshire, though to his Cost; for there he was overthrown, as I have already told you.

After this the King in Person marched into the West, and took Exeter, Dorchester, Barnstaple, and divers others Places; and had he not at his Return besieged Gloucester, and thereby given the Parliament Time for new Levies, 'twas thought by many he might have routed the House of Commons. But the End of this Year was more favourable to the Parliament; for in January the Scots entered England, and March the first crossed the Tyne, and whilst the Earl of Newcastle was marching to them, Sir Thomas Fairfax gathered together a considerable Party in Yorkshire, and the Earl of Manchester from Lynn advanced towards York; so that the Earl of Newcastle having two Armies of the Rebels behind him, and another before him, was forced to retreat to York; which those three Armies, joining, presently besieged; and these are all the considerable military Actions of the Year 1643.

In the same Year the Parliament caused to be made a new Great Seal. The Lord-Keeper had carried the former Seal to Oxford. Hereupon the King sent a Messenger to the Judges at Westminster, to forbid them to make use of this new Seal. This Messenger was taken, and condemned at a Council of War, and hang'd for a Spy.

B. Is that the Law of War?

A. I know not: but it seems, when a Soldier comes into the Enemy's Quarters without Address, or Notice given to the chief Commander, that it is presumed he comes as a Spy. The same Year, when certain Gentlemen at London received a Commission of Array from the

King,

A Scottish Army enters England to assist the English Parliament. In January, 1643-44.

King, to levy Men for his Service in that City, being discovered, they were condemned, and some of them executed. This Case is not much unlike the former.

B. Was not the making of a new Great Seal a sufficient Proof that the War was raised, not to remove evil Counsellors from the King, but to remove the King himself from the Government? What hope then could there be had in Messages and Treaties?

A. The Entrance of the Scots was a Thing unexpected to the King, who was made to believe, by continual Letters from his Commissioner in Scotland, Duke Hamilton, that the Scots never intended any Invasion. The Duke being then at Oxford, the King (assured that the Scots were now entered) sent him Prisoner to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall.

In the Beginning of the Year 1644, the Earl of Newcastle being (as I told you) besieged in York by the joint forces of the Scots, the Earl of Manchester, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, the King sent Prince Rupert to relieve the Town, and, as soon as he could, to give the Enemy Battle. Prince Rupert passing through Lancashire, and, by the Way, having stormed that seditious Town of Bolton, and taken Stockford and Liverpool, came to York the 1st of July, and relieved it; the Enemy being risen thence to a Place called Marston-Moor, about four Miles off; and there was fought that unfortunate Battle, which lost the King in a Manner all the North. Prince Rupert returned by the Way he came, and the Earl of Newcastle went to York, and thence, with some of his Officers, over the Sea to Hamburg.

The King's Army is defeated in the Battle of Marston-Moor. In July, 1644.

The Honour of this Victory was attributed chiefly to Oliver Cromwell, the Earl of Manchester's Lieutenant-General. The Parliamentarians returned from the Field to the Siege of York; which, not long after, upon honourable Articles, was surrendered; not that they were favoured, but because the Parliament employed not much Time, nor many Men, in Sieges.

B. This was a great and sudden Abatement of the King's Prosperity.

A. It was so: but Amends was made him for it within five or six Weeks after. For Sir William Waller, after

Sir William Waller
is defeated by the
King at Coupredy-
Bridge.

The second Battle
of Newbury. In
October, 1644.

The Parliament mo-
dels its Army in a
new manner, and
puts it under new
Commanders.
January 31, 1644-45.

the Loss of his Army in Roundway-down, had another raised for him by the City of London; who, for the Payment thereof, imposed a weekly Tax of the Value of one Meal's Meat upon every Citizen. This Army, with that of the Earl of Essex, intended to besiege Oxford; which the King understanding, sent the Queen into the West, and marched himself towards Worcester. This made them to divide again, and the Earl to go into the West, and Waller to pursue the King. By this Means, as it fell out, both their Armies were defeated; for the King turned upon Waller, routed him at Coupredy-bridge, took his Train of Artillery and many Officers; and then presently followed the Earl of Essex into Cornwall, where he had him at such Advantage, that the Earl himself was fain to escape in a small Boat to Plymouth; His Horse broke through the King's Quarters by Night; but the Infantry were all forced to lay-down their Arms, and, upon Condition never more to bear Arms against the King, were permitted to depart.

In October following was fought a second and sharp Battle at Newbury. For this Infantry, making no Conscience of the Conditions made with the King, being now come towards London, as far as Basingstoke, had Arms put again into their Hands; to whom some of the Train'd Bands being added, the Earl of Essex had suddenly so great an Army, that he attempted the King again at Newbury; and certainly had the better of the Day, but, the Night parting them, had not a compleat Victory. And it was observed here, that no part of the Earl's Army fought so keenly, as they who had laid-down their Arms in Cornwall. These were the most important Fights in the Year, 1644, and the King was yet (as both himself and others thought) in as good a Condition as the Parliament: which now despaired of Victory under the Commanders they then employed.

Therefore they voted a new modelling of the Army, suspecting the Earl of Essex, (though, I think, wrongfully,) to be too much a Royalist; for not having done so much as they looked-for in this second Battle at Newbury. The Earls of Essex and Manchester, perceiving what they went-about, voluntarily laid-down their Commissions; and the House

House of Commons made an Ordinance, that no Member of either House should enjoy any Office, or Command, Military or Civil ; with which oblique Blow they shook-off those that had hitherto served them too well. And yet out of this Ordinance they excepted Oliver Cromwell, in whose Conduct and Valour they had very great Confidence, (which they would not have done, if they had known him as well then as they did afterwards) and made him Lieutenant-General to Sir Thomas Fairfax, their new-made General. In the Commission to the Earl of Essex there had been a Clause for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, which in this new Commission was left-out ; though the Parliament (as well as the General) were as yet Presbyterian.

B. It seems the Presbyterians also (in order to their Ends) would fain have had the King murdered.

A. For my part, I doubt it not. For, while a rightful King is living, an usurping Power can never be sufficiently secured.

In this same Year the Parliament put to Death Sir John Hotham and his Son, for tampering with the Earl of Newcastle, about the Rendition of Hull ; and Sir Alexander Carew, for endeavouring to deliver-up Plymouth, where he was Governour for the Parliament ; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, for nothing, but to please the Scots ; for the general Article of "going-about to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land," was no Accusation, but only foul Words. They then also voted-down the Book of Common-Prayer, and ordered the Use of a Directory, which had been newly composed by an Assembly of Presbyterian Ministers. They were also then, with much ado, prevailed-with to enter into a Treaty with the King at Uxbridge ; in which they remitted nothing of their former Demands. The King had also at this Time a Parliament at Oxford, consisting of such discontented Members as had left the Houses at Westminster. But few of them had changed their old Principles ; and therefore that Parliament was not of much service to the King : Nay rather, because they endeavoured nothing but to bring-about more Messages and Treaties between the King and the Parliament, (which tended only to the defeating of the hopes

The Parliament passes an Ordinance called *The Self-denying Ordinance*.

Proceedings of the Parliament in the Year 1645.

The treaty of Uxbridge. In February, 1644-45.

of the King's Soldiers that they should reap Benefit by the War,) they were thought by most Men to do the King more Hurt than Good.

Of the Events of the
War in the Year
1645.

The Year 1645, was to the King very unfortunate. For by the Loss of one great Battle, he lost all he had formerly gotten, and at length his Life.

The new-modell'd Army, after Consultation whether they should lay Siege to Oxford, or march Westward to the Relief of Taunton, (then besieged by the Lord Goring, and defended by Blake, who was famous afterwards for his Actions at Sea) resolved for Taunton, leaving Cromwell to attend the Motions of the King, though not strong enough to hinder him. The King, upon this Advantage, drew his Forces and Artillery out of Oxford. This made the Parliament to call-back their General Fairfax, and order him to besiege Oxford. The King, in the mean time, relieved Chester, which was besieged by Sir William Brereton, and coming-back took Leicester by Force; a Place of great Importance, and well provided of Artillery and Provision.

Upon this Success it was generally thought, that the King's Party was the stronger. The King himself thought so, and the Parliament in a Manner confess'd the same, by commanding Fairfax to rise from the Siege, and endeavour to give the King Battle: for the Successes of the King, and the Divisions and Treacheries growing now amongst themselves, had driven them to rely upon the Fortune of one Day; in which at Naseby the King's Army was utterly overthrown, and no Hope left him to raise another. Therefore, after the Battle, he went-up and down, doing the Parliament here and there some shrewd Turns, but never much increased his Number.

Fairfax, in the mean time, first recovered Leicester, and then marching into the West subdued it all, except only a few Places; forcing, with much ado, my Lord Hopton (upon honourable Conditions) to disband his Army, and, with the Prince of Wales, to pass-over to Scilly; whence, not long after, they went to Paris.

General Fairfax pre-
pares to lay siege to
Oxford. In April,
1646.

In April 1646, General Fairfax began to march-back to Oxford. In the mean Time, Rainsborough, who besieged Woodstock, had it surrendered to him. The King there-
fore,

fore, who was now also returned to Oxford, (from which Woodstock is but six Miles,) not doubting, but that he should there be besieged by Fairfax, and having no Army to relieve him, resolved to get-away in disguise to the Scotch Army about Newark; and thither he came the fourth of May. And the Scotch Army, being upon their removal homewards, carried him with them to Newcastle, whither he came May the 13th.

The King leaves Oxford in disguise, and repairs to the Scottish Army near Newark. May 4, 1646.

B. Why did the King trust himself with the Scots? They were the first that rebell'd. They were Presbyterians, *i. e.* cruel; and besides, they were indigent, and consequently it might be suspected, that they would sell him to his Enemies for money. And lastly, they were too weak to defend him, or keep him in their Country.

A. What could he have done better? For he had, in the Winter before, sent to the Parliament to get a Pass for the Duke of Richmond and others, to bring them Propositions of Peace: It was denied. He sent again; it was denied again. Then he desired he might come to them in Person: This also was denied. He sent again and again to the same Purpose; but, instead of granting it, they made an Ordinance, That the Commanders of the Militia of London, in case the King should attempt to come within the Line of Communication, should raise what Force they thought fit to suppress Tumults, to apprehend such as came with him, and to secure (*i. e.* to imprison) his Person from Danger. If the King had adventured to come, and had been imprisoned; what could the Parliament have done with him? They had dethroned him by their Votes; and therefore they could have no Security, whilst he lived, though in Prison. It may be they would not have put him to Death by a High Court of Justice publicly, but secretly some other Way.

B. He should have attempted to get beyond Sea.

A. That had been from Oxford very difficult. Besides it was generally believed, that the Scotch Army had promised him, that not only his Majesty, but also his Friends that should come with him, should be in their Army safe; not only for their Persons, but also for their Honours and Consciences. 'Tis a pretty Trick, when the Army and the particular Soldiers of the Army, are different things,

to make the Soldiers promise what the Army means not to perform.

The Parliament
sends Commissioners
to the King in the
Scottish Army with
Propositions for
Peace. July 11, 1646.

July the 11th, the Parliament sent their Propositions to the King at Newcastle; which Propositions they pretended to be the only Way to a settled and well-grounded Peace. They were brought by the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Hipposly, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Robinson : whom the King asked if they had Power to treat? And when they answered, "that they had not," the King observed to them, that, since that was the case, the Propositions might as well have been sent to him by a Trumpeter? The Propositions were the same dethroning ones, which they used to send; and therefore the King would not assent to them. Nor did the Scots swallow them at first, but made some Exceptions against them; only, it seems, to make the Parliament perceive they meant not to put the King into their Hands gratis. And so at last the Bargain was made between them; and upon the Payment of £200,000^l. the King was put into the Hands of the Commissioners, which the English Parliament sent-down to receive him *.

The King refuses to
consent to them.

B. What a vile Complexion has this Action? which seems to be a compound of feigned Religion and real Covetousness, Cowardice, Perjury and Treachery.

A. Now the War, that seemed to justify many unseemly Things, is ended; you will see almost nothing else in these Rebels, but Baseness and Falseness, besides their Folly.

By this Time the Parliament had taken-in all the rest of the King's Garrisons, whereof the last was Pendennis Castle, whither Duke Hamilton had been sent Prisoner by the King.

B. What was done during this Time in Ireland and Scotland?

* But it should have been observed, that this sum of money was not a gratuity, or gift, to the Scotch Nation, in order to have the King's person delivered-up to them, but only one half of the sum justly due to them as the pay stipulated to be paid to them for the service done to the English Parliament in their present contest with the King. Nor did the Commissioners of the Parliament stipulate that the King's person should be delivered-up to them: but left him at liberty to go with the Scotch army into his kingdom of Scotland, if he chose it. But he chose rather to stay in England. See above in "May's Breviary," the account of this transaction, and particularly the Speech of the Earl of Lowdon to the King, about the end of August, 1646.

A. In Ireland there had been a Peace made by order from his Majesty for a Time, which by Divisions amongst the Irish was ill kept; the Popish Party (the Pope's Nuncio being then there) took this to be the Time for delivering themselves from their Subjection to the English. Besides, the Time of the Peace was now expir'd.

Of the state of Ireland at this time.

B. How were they subject to the English more than the English to the Irish? They were subject to the King of England; but so also were the English to the King of Ireland.

A. This Distinction is somewhat too subtil for common Understandings. In Scotland the Marquiss of Montrosse, for the King, with a very few men, and miraculous Victories, had over-run all Scotland; where many of his Forces (out of too much Security) were permitted to be absent for a while; of which the Enemy having Intelligence, suddenly came upon them, and forced them to fly-back into the Highlands to recruit; where he began to recover Strength, when he was commanded by the King (then in the Hands of the Scots at Newcastle) to disband his Army; which he accordingly did; and himself thereupon departed from Scotland by Sea.

Of the state of Scotland at this time.

In the End of the same Year, 1646, the Parliament caused the King's Great Seal to be broken; also the King was brought to Holmeby, and there kept by the Parliament's Commissioners: and here was an End of that War, as to England and Scotland, but not as to Ireland. About this Time also died the Earl of Essex, whom the Parliament had discarded.

The King is brought to his Palace at Holmeby in Northamptonshire, in February, 1646-47.

B. Now that there was Peace in England, and the King in Prison, in whom was the Sovereign Power?

A. The Right was certainly in the King, but the Exercise was yet in nobody; but contended for, as in a Game at Cards, without fighting, all the Years 1647 and 1648, between the Parliament and Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant-General to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

You must know, that, when King Henry the VIIIth abolished the Pope's Authority here, and took upon him to be the Head of the Church, the Bishops, as they could not resist him, so neither were they discontented with it. For, whereas, before that change, the Pope allowed not the Bishops to claim Jurisdiction in their Dioceses *Jure*

After the abolition of the Pope's Ecclesiastical Authority in England, the Bishops of England conceived themselves to have a *divine right* to govern the Clergy of their several Dioceses.

Divino,

Divino, that is, of Right immediately from God, but by the Gift and Authority of the Pope, the Bishops, now that the Pope was outed, made no doubt but that the Right was in themselves. After this great change in England, the City of Geneva, and divers other Places beyond Sea, having revolted from the Papacy, set-up Presbyteries for the Government of their several Churches; and divers English Scholars that went beyond Sea, during the Time of Queen Mary, were much taken with this Government, and, at their Return to England, in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, and ever since, have endeavoured, (to the great trouble of the Church and Nation,) to set-up that mode of Church-Government here, wherein they might, in their Synods, or Ecclesiastical Assemblies, domineer, and display their own Wit and Learning: and these persons took upon them to have, not only a Divine Right, but also a Divine Inspiration: and, having been connived-at and countenanced, they sometimes, in their frequent Preaching, introduced many strange and many pernicious Doctrines; out-doing, as they pretended, the Reformations both of Luther and Calvin, receding from the former Divinity, or Church-Philosophy, (for Religion is another Thing) as much as Luther and Calvin had receded from the Pope; and thereby they distracted their Auditors into a great number of Sects, as Brownists, Anabaptists, Independents, Fifth-Monarchy-Men, Quakers, and divers others, all commonly called by the Name of *Fanaticks*: insomuch that there was not so dangerous an Enemy to the Presbyterians as this Brood of their own hatching.

The Origin of the Independents and the other Sects of Protestant Christians called *Fanaticks*.

These fanatical Secretaries were the principal Instruments of Oliver Cromwell's Ambition.

These were Cromwell's best Cards, whereof he had a very great Number in the Army, and some in the House, whereof he himself was thought to be one; though, in reality, he was not steadily attached to any one particular sect, but, applying himself always to the Faction that was strongest, was of a Colour like it.

There were in the Army a great Number (if not the greatest part) that aimed only at Rapine, and sharing the Lands and Goods of their Enemies; and these also, upon the Opinion they had of Cromwell's Valour and Conduct, thought they could not any way better arrive at their Ends, than by adhering to him. Lastly, in the Parliament itself, though not the Major part, yet a considerable Number

ber were Fanatics ; enough to put-in Doubts, and cause Delay in the Résolutions of the House, and sometimes also, by Advantage of a thin House, to carry a Vote in favour of Cromwell, as they did upon the 26th of July, 1647. For, whereas, on the fourth of May preceding, the Parliament had voted that the Militia of London should be in the hands of a Committee of Citizens, whereof the Lord-Mayor for the Time being should be one ; shortly after, the Independents, chancing to be the Major Part of the House, made an Ordinance by which it was put into Hands more favourable to the Army.

The best Cards the Parliament had, were the City of London, and the Person of the King. The General Sir Thomas Fairfax, was right Presbyterian ; but in the Hands of the Army ; and the Army was in the hands of Cromwell : but “ which Party should prevail over the other,” depended on the playing of the Game. Cromwell protested still Obedience and Fidelity to the Parliament : but, meaning nothing less, bethought him, and resolved on a Way to excuse himself of all that he should do to the contrary, by laying it upon the Army. Therefore he and his Son-in-law, Commissary-General Ireton, (who was as good at contriving as himself, and at speaking and writing better,) contrive how to mutiny the Army against the Parliament. To this End they spread a Whisper through the Army, that the Parliament, now they had the King in their hands, intended to disband them, to cheat them of their Arrears, and to send them into Ireland to be destroyed by the Irish. The Army, being herewith enraged, were taught by Ireton to erect a Council among themselves, of two Soldiers out of every Troop, and every Company, to consult for the Good of the Army, and to assist at the Council of War, and to advise for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. These were called * *Adjutors*,

Oliver Cromwell and Ireton excite discontents in the Army against the Parliament.

The Army choose a Council of private Soldiers, whom they call *Adjutors*, to consult for the good of the Army.

SO

* This name of the members of this council consisting of private Soldiers, is spelt in this same way *Adjutors*, by Sir John Berkley in his Memoirs printed above in this volume of tracts, and therefore seems to have meant *Assistants* to the superiour Council of War, (consisting of Officers of the Army,) in managing and supporting the rights and interests

A strong party of Horse under the command of Cornet Joyce, by the instigation of Cromwell, removes the King by force from Holmeby Castle into the quarters of the Army. June 4, 1647.

so that whatsoever Cromwell would have to be done, he needed nothing to make them do it, but secretly to put it into the head of these Adjutors. The Effect of the first Consultation was, to take the King from Holmeby, and to bring him to the Army.

The General hereupon, by Letter to the Parliament, excuses himself, and Cromwell, and the Body of the army, as ignorant of the Fact; and that the King came-away willingly with those Soldiers that brought him: assuring them withall, that the whole army intended nothing but Peace, and did not oppose Presbytery, nor affect Independency, nor hold any licentious Freedom in Religion.

B. 'Tis strange that Sir Thomas Fairfax could be so abused by Cromwell, as to believe this which he himself here writes.

A. I cannot believe that Cornet Joyce could go out of the Army with a thousand Soldiers to fetch the King, and neither the General*, nor the Lieutenant-General, nor the Body of the Army, take Notice of it. And that the King went willingly, appears to be false, by a Message sent on purpose from his Majesty to the Parliament.

terests of the Army. But in Lord Holles's Memoirs, and Lord Fairfax's Memorials, herein above printed, and in Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, it is spelt *Agitators*, as if it meant men selected from the private Soldiers of the Army to *agitate*, or discuss, matters relating to the interests of the Army.

* The General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, certainly did not order this violent removal of the King, nor know any thing of it till after it had taken place; and, when he was told of it, he was very much displeased at it, and immediately ordered Colonel Whalley to go with two Regiments of Horse to meet the King on his Journey from Holmeby, and carry him back, unless the King should refuse to return; in which case he was not to use any force with him. Colonel Whalley obeyed this order immediately, and met the King and the Commissioners of Parliament who attended him, at only four miles distance from Holmeby, and informed him of the orders he had received from the General. But the King, though he had been forced by Cornet Joyce to leave Holmeby against his will, yet then refused to go back to it, and so went on with Colonel Whalley and his party to the quarters of the Army. It is probable that he had been made to believe, by specious assurances of the favourable disposition of the Army towards him, that he should be restored to the exercise of his royal authority by the interference of the Army upon easier terms than by the free and uncontrolled Resolutions of the Parliament. See above, *A short Memorial of Thomas, Lord Fairfax*, pages 446, 447, 448.

N B.

B. Here

B. Here is Perfidy upon Perfidy : first the Perfidy of the Parliament against the King, and then the Perfidy of the Army against the Parliament.

A. This was the first Trick Cromwell played; whereby he thought himself to have gotten so great an Advantage, that he said openly, “ that he had the Parliament in his Pocket ;” as indeed he had, and the City too : for, upon the News of it, they were, both the one and the other, in very great Disorder ; and the more so, because there came with it a Rumour, that the Army was marching-up to London.

The King in the mean time, till his Residence was settled at Hampton-court, was carried from Place to Place, not without some Ostentation ; but with much more Liberty, and with more Respect shewn him by far, than when he was in the Hands of the Parliament’s Commissioners ; for his own Chaplains were allowed to attend him ; and his Children, and some Friends, were permitted to see him. Besides that, he was much complimented by Cromwell, who promised him, in a serious and seeming passionate manner, to restore him to his Right against the Parliament.

B. How was he sure he could do that ?

A. He was not sure ; but he was resolved to march-up to the City and Parliament to set-up the King again, (and be the second Man) unless in the Attempt he found better Hope, than yet he had, to make himself the first Man by dispossessing the King.

B. What Assistance against the Parliament and the City could Cromwell expect from the King ?

A. By declaring directly for him, he might have had all the King’s Party ; which were many more now, since his Misfortune, than ever they were before : for in the Parliament itself there were many that had discovered the Hypocrisy and private Aims of their Fellows. Many were converted to their Duty by their own natural Reason ; and their Compassion for the King’s Sufferings had begot generally an Indignation against the Parliament ; so that, if they had been, by the Protection of the present Army, brought together, and embodied, Cromwell might have done what
he

he had pleased, in the first place for the King, and in the second for himself. But, it seems, he meant, first, to try what he could do without the King ; and, if that proved enough, to rid his Hands of him.

B. What did the Parliament and City do to oppose the Army ?

Violent Proceedings
of the Army against
the Parliament and
the City of London.
In July and August,
1647.

A. First, the Parliament sent to the General to re-deliver the King to their Commissioners. Instead of an Answer to this, the Army sent Articles to the Parliament, and with them a Charge against eleven of their Members, all of them active Presbyterians : of which articles these are some. 1. That the House may be purged of those, who, by the self-denying Ordinance, ought not to be there. 2. That such as abused and endangered the Kingdom, might be disabled to do the like hereafter. 3. That a Day might be appointed to determine this Parliament. 4. That they would make an Accompt to the Kingdom of the vast Sums of Money they had received. 5. That the eleven Members might presently be suspended sitting in the House. These were the Articles that put them to their Trumps: and they answered none of them, but that of the Suspension of the eleven Members ; which they said they could not do by Law, till the particulars of the Charge were produced. But this was soon answered by a reference to their own Proceedings against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Strafford.

The Parliament being thus somewhat awed, and the King made somewhat confident ; he undertakes the City, requiring the Parliament to put the Militia of London into other Hands.

B. What other Hands ? I do not well understand you.

A. I told you that the Militia of London was, on the fourth of May, put into the Hands of the Lord-Mayor and other Citizens, and soon after put into the Hands of other Men more favourable to the Army ; and now I am to tell you, that, on July the 26th, the Violence of certain Apprentices and disbanded Soldiers forced the Parliament to resettle it, as it had been a little before, in the Citizens. And hereupon the two Speakers and divers of the Members ran-away to the Army, where they were invited to take

take refuge, and where they were contented to sit and vote in the Council of War in Nature of a Parliament; and out of these Citizens hands they would have the Militia taken-away, and put again into those Hands, out of which it was taken on the 26th of July.

B. What said the City to this?

A. The Londoners manned their Works, viz. the Line of Communication, raised an army of valiant Men within the Line, chose good Officers, all being desirous to go-out and fight, whensoever the City should give them Order; and in that Posture stood expecting the Enemy.

The Soldiers in the mean time enter into an Engagement to live and die with Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Parliament, and the army.

B. That is very fine. They imitate that which the Parliament did, when they first took-up arms against the King, styling themselves *the King and Parliament*, maintaining that the King was always virtually in his Parliament: So the Army now making War against the Parliament, called themselves *the Parliament and the Army*. But they might, with more Reason, say, that the Parliament (since it was in Cromwell's Pocket) was virtually in the Army.

A. Withall they send-out a Declaration of the Grounds of their March towards London; wherein they take upon them to be Judges of the Parliament, and of "who are fit to be trusted with the Business of the Kingdom," giving them the Name, not of the Parliament, but of the Gentlemen at Westminster. For after the Violence they were under on July 26th, the Army denied them to be a lawful Parliament. At the same Time they sent a Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, reproaching them with those late Tumults, and telling them that they were Enemies to the Peace, treacherous to the Parliament, unable to defend either the Parliament or themselves; and demanded to have the City delivered into their Hands; for which Purpose they said they were now coming to them. The General also sent-out Warrants to the Counties adjacent, summoning their Trained Soldiers to join with them.

B. Were

B. Were the Trained Soldiers part of the General's Army?

A. No;—they were not at all in pay, nor could be so without an Order of Parliament. But what might not an Army do, after it had mastered all the Laws of the Land? The Army being come to Hounslow-Heath, distant from London but ten Miles, the Court of Aldermen was called to consider what to do. The Captains and Soldiers of the City were willing and well-provided to go-forth and give them Battle: but a treacherous Officer, that had Charge of a Work on Southwark-Side, had let-in within the Line a small Party of the Enemy, who march'd as far as to the Gate of London Bridge, and then the Court of Aldermen (their Hearts failing them) submitted on these Conditions: To relinquish their Militia: To desert the eleven Members: To deliver-up the Forts and Line of Communication, together with the Tower of London, and all Magazines and Arms therein, to the Army: To disband their Forces, and turn-out all the Reformadoes, *i. e.* all Essex's old Soldiers: and to draw-off their Guards from the Parliament. All which was done, and the Army marched triumphantly through the principal Streets of the City.

The Army marches to London, and reduces the City to a compliance with their desires. August 6, 1647.

B. 'Tis strange that the Mayor and Aldermen, having such an Army, should so quickly yield. Might they not have resisted the Party of the Enemy, at the Bridge, with a Party of their own; and the rest of the Enemies with the rest of their own?

A. I cannot judge of that. But to me it would have been strange, if they had done otherwise than they did. For I consider the most part of rich Subjects, that have made themselves so by Craft and Trade, as Men that never look upon any thing but their present Profit, and who to every thing not lying in that Way, are in a manner blind, being amazed at the very Thought of being plundered. If they had understood what Virtue there would have been in preserving their Wealth in Obedience to their lawful Sovereign, they would never have sided with the Parliament against him; and so we should have had no need of arming. The Mayor and Aldermen therefore being assured

assured by this Submission to save their Goods, and not being sure of the same by resisting, seem to me to have taken the wisest Course. Nor was the Parliament less tame than the City ; for presently, August the 6th, the General brought the fugitive Speakers and Members to the House with a strong Guard of Soldiers, and replaced the Speakers in their Chairs ; and for this they gave the General Thanks, not only there in the House, but appointed also a Day for a holy Thanksgiving, and not long after made him Generalissimo of all the Forces of England, and Constable of the Tower. But, in effect, all this was the Advancement of Cromwell ; for he was the Usufructuary, though the Property were in Sir Thomas Fairfax. For the Independents immediately cast-down the whole Line of Communication, divided the Militia of London, Westminster, and Southwark, which were before united ; displaced such Governours of Towns and Forts as were not for their Turn, though placed there by Ordinance of Parliament ; and, instead of them, they put-in Men of their own Party. They also made the Parliament to declare null all that had passed in the Houses from July the 26th, to August the 6th, and clapt in Prison some of the Lords, and some of the most eminent Citizens, whereof the Lord-Mayor was one.

B. Cromwell had Power enough now to restore the King : Why did he not do so ?

A. His main End was to set himself in his Place. The restoring of the King was but a reserve against the Parliament ; which being in his Pocket, he had no more Need of the King, who was now an Impediment to him. To keep him in the Army was a Trouble ; To let him fall into the Hands of the Presbyterians had been a Stop to his Hopes ; To murder him privately, (besides the Horror of the Act) now whilst Cromwell himself was no more than Lieutenant General, would have made him odious without furthering his Design. There was nothing better for his Purpose, than to let him escape from Hampton-Court, (where he was too near the Parliament) and go wherever he pleased beyond Sea. For, though Cromwell had a great Party in the Parliament-House, whilst they saw not that his Ambition reached to making himself to be their Master, yet they would have been his Enemies, as

soon as that had appeared. To make the King attempt an Escape, some of those that had him in Custody, by Cromwell's Direction, told him that the Adjutors meant to murder him; and withal caused a Rumour of the same to be generally spread, to the end that it might that Way also come to the King's Ear, as it did.

The King escapes from Hampton-Court, and resorts to Carisbrook-Castle in the Isle of Wight, of which Colonel Hammond is Governour. November 10, 1647.

The King, therefore, in a dark and rainy Night, (his Guards being retired, (as it was thought, on Purpose) left Hampton-Court, and went to the Sea-side about Southampton, where a Vessel had been bespoken to transport him, but failed; so that the King was forced to trust himself with Colonel Hammond, then Governour of the Isle of Wight: expecting perhaps some Kindness from him for Dr. Hammond's sake, who was Brother to the Colonel, and his Majesty's much-favoured Chaplain. But it proved otherwise; for the Colonel sent to his Masters of the Parliament to receive their Orders concerning him. This going into the Isle of Wight was not likely to be any Part of Cromwell's Design, who neither knew whither, nor which Way he would go; nor would Hammond have known any more than other Men, to what place the King had gone, if the Ship had come to the appointed Place in due Time.

B. If the King had escaped into France, might not the French have assisted him with Forces to recover his Kingdom, and so have frustrated the Designs, both of Cromwell, and all the King's other Enemies?

A. Yes, much; just as they assisted his Son, (our present most gracious Sovereign,) who had, two Years before, fled thither out of Cornwall.

B. 'Tis, methinks, no great Policy in neighbouring Princes to favour, so often as they do, one another's Rebels; especially when they rebel against Monarchy itself. They should rather, first, make a League against Rebellion, and afterwards (if there be no Remedy) fight one against another. Nor will that serve the Turn amongst Christian Sovereigns, till preaching be better looked-to; whereby the Interpretation of a Verse in the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin Bible, is oftentimes the Cause of a Civil War; and of the deposing and assassinating of God's Anointed. And yet, converse with those Divinity-Disputers as long as you will,

will, you will hardly find one in a hundred of them that is discreet enough to be employed in any great Affair either of War or Peace. It is not the Right of the Sovereign, though granted to him by every Man's express Consent, that can enable him to do his Office; it is the Obedience of the Subject that must do that. For what Good is it to promise Allegiance, and then, by and by, to cry-out, (as some Ministers did in the Pulpit) *To your Tents, O Israel!* Common People know nothing of Right or Wrong by their own Meditation; they must therefore be taught the Grounds of their Duty, and the Reasons why Calamities ever follow Disobedience to their lawful Sovereigns. But, on the contrary, our Rebels were publickly taught Rebellion in the Pulpits; and that there was no Sin, but the doing of what the Preachers forbad, or the Omission of what they advised. But, now that the King was the Parliament's Prisoner, why did not the Presbyterians advance their own Interest by restoring him?

A. The Parliament, (in which there still continued to be a greater number of Presbyterians than of Independents,) might have gotten what they would of the King, during his Life, if they had not, by unconscionable and sottish Ambition, obstructed the Way to their Ends. They sent him four Propositions to be signed and passed by him, as Acts of Parliament, telling him, when these were granted, they would send Commissioners to treat with him of any other Articles.

The Propositions were these. First: That the Parliament should have the Militia, and the Power of levying Money to maintain it, for twenty Years; and, after that Term, the Exercise thereof to return to the King, in case the Parliament think the Safety of the Kingdom concerned in it.

The Parliament sent the King four Acts of Parliament to be passed by him, as a ground for Peace. About December 24, 1647.

B. This first Article takes from the King the Militia, and consequently the whole Sovereignty for ever.

A. The second was: That the King should justify the Proceedings of the Parliament against himself; and declare void all Oaths and Declarations made by him against the Parliament.

B. This was to make him guilty of the War, and of all the Blood spilt therein.

A. The third was: To take away all Titles of Honour conferred

conferred by the King since the Great Seal was carried to him in May 1642.

The fourth was: That the Parliament should adjourn themselves, when, and to what Place, and for what Time they pleased.

The King refuses to pass them. December 28, 1647.

These Propositions the King refused to grant, as he had Reason; but sent others of his own, not much less advantageous to the Parliament, and desired a personal Treaty with the Parliament for the settling of the Peace of the Kingdom: But the Parliament denying them to be sufficient for that Purpose, voted, That there should be no more Addresses made to him, nor Messages received from him; but that they would settle the Kingdom without him. And this they voted partly upon the Speeches and Menaces of the Army-Faction then present in the House of Commons: whereof one* advised these three Points.

* Sir Thomas Wroth. See the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. page 491. January 3, A.D. 1647-48.

1. To secure the King in some inland Castle with Guards. 2. To draw-up Articles of Impeachment against him. 3. To lay him by, and settle the Kingdom without him.

*Commissary General Ireton. Ibid.

Another * said, That his denying of the four Bills was the denying Protection to his Subjects; and that therefore they might deny him Subjection; and added, that till the Parliament forsook the Army, the Army would never forsake the Parliament. This was threatening.

Last of all, Cromwell himself told them, It was now expected that the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom, and not any longer let the People expect their Safety from a Man, whose Heart God had hardened; nor let those that had so well defended the Parliament be left hereafter to the Rage of an irreconcilable Enemy, lest they should seek their Safety in some other way. This again was threatening; as also the laying his Hand upon his Sword, when he spake it.

The Parliament thereupon votes that no more addresses shall be made to the King.

And hereupon the Vote of Non-Addresses was made an Ordinance; which the House would afterwards have recalled, but was forced by Cromwell to keep their Word.

The Scots were displeased with it, partly because their Brethren the Presbyterians had lost a great deal of their Power

Power in England, and partly also because they had sold the King into their Hands.

The King now published a passionate Complaint to his People of this hard Dealing with him; which made them pity him, but not yet rise in his Behalf.

B. Was not this, think you, the true Time for Cromwell to take Possession?

A. By no means: There were yet many Obstacles to be removed: He was not General of the Army: The Army was still for a Parliament: The City of London discontented about their Militia: The Scots expected with an Army to rescue the King: His Adjutators were Levelers, and against Monarchy, who, though they had helped him to bring-under the Parliament, yet (like Dogs that are easily taught to fetch, and not easily taught to render,) would not make him King. So that Cromwell had these Difficulties following to overcome, before he could formally make himself a Sovereign Prince.

1. To be Generalissimo: 2. To remove the King: 3. To suppress all Insurrections here: 4. To oppose the Scots: And lastly, To dissolve the present Parliament. Mighty Businesses, which he could never promise himself to overcome. Therefore I cannot believe he then thought to be King, but only, by well serving the strongest Party, (which was always his main Polity) to proceed as far as that and Fortune would carry him.

N. B.

B. The Parliament were certainly no less foolish than wicked in deserting thus the King, before they had the Army under a better Command than they had.

A. In the Beginning of the Year 1648, the Parliament gave a Commission to Philip, Earl of Pembroke (then made Chancellor of Oxford,) together with some of the Doctors there, (as good Divines as he) to purge the University; by Virtue whereof they turned-out all such as were not of their Faction, and all such as had approved the Use of the Common-Prayer-Book; as also divers scandalous Ministers and Scholars, that is, such as, customarily and without Need, took the Name of God in their Mouths, or used to speak wantonly, or used the Company of lewd Women: And for this last I cannot but commend them.

The Parliament appoints Visitors to reform the University of Oxford, In April, 1648.

B. So shall not I; for it is just such another Piece of,

Piety, as to turn Men out of an Hospital because they are lame. Where can a Man probably learn Godliness, and how to correct his Vices, better than in the Universities erected for that Purpose?

A. It may be the Parliament thought otherwise: for I have often heard the Complaints of Parents, that their Children were debauched there to Drunkenness, Wantonness, Gaming, and other Vices consequent to these: nor is it a Wonder amongst so many Youths, if they did not corrupt one another in Despite of their Tutors, who oftentimes were little elder than themselves. And therefore I think the Parliament did not much reverence that Institution of Universities, as to the bringing-up of young Men to Virtue, though many of them learned there to preach, and became thereby capable of Preferment and Maintenance; and some others were sent thither by their Parents, to save themselves the Trouble of governing them at home, during that Time of Life in which Children are least governable. Nor do I think the Parliament cared more for the Clergy than other Men did: but certainly an University is an excellent Servant to the Clergy; and the Clergy, if it be not carefully look'd-to, (by their Dissentions in Doctrines, and by the Advantage of Liberty to publish their Dissentions) is an excellent Means to divide a Kingdom into Factions.

B. But, seeing there is no Place in this Part of the World, where Philosophy and other human Sciences are not highly valued, where can they be learned better than in the Universities?

A. What other Sciences? Do not Divines comprehend all Civil and Moral Philosophy within their Divinity? And, as for Natural Philosophy, is it not removed from Oxford and Cambridge to Gresham-College in London, and to be learned out of their Gazettes? But we are gone from our Subject.

B. No; we are indeed gone from the greater Businesses of the Kingdom; to which, if you please, let us return.

A. The first Insurrection, or rather Tumult, was that of the Apprentices, on the ninth of April. But this was not upon the King's Account, but arose from a customary Assembly

A tumultuous rising of the Apprentices in London. April 9th, 1648.

Assembly of them for Recreation in Moorfields, whence some zealous Officers of the Trained Soldiers would needs drive them away by Force; but were themselves routed with Stones; and had their Ensign taken-away by the Apprentices, which they carried about in the Streets, and frightened the Lord-Mayor into his House, where they took a Gun called a Drake, and then they set Guards at some of the Gates, and, all the rest of the Day, childishly swaggered up and down the Streets. But the next Day the General himself, marching into the City, quickly dispersed them. This was but a small Business; but it was enough to let them see that the Parliament was ill beloved of the People.

Next, the Welch took-up Arms against them. There were three Colonels in Wales, Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, who had formerly done the Parliament good Service, but now were commanded to disband; which they refused to do; and the better to strengthen themselves, declared for the King, and were about 8000 men.

About the same time, in Wales also, was another Insurrection headed by Sir Nicholas Keymish, and another under Sir John Owen; so that now all Wales was in Rebellion against the Parliament. And yet all these were overcome in a Month's Time by Cromwell and his Officers; but not without Store of Blood shed on both Sides.

Powerful Insurrections in Wales against the Parliament.

They are soon suppressed by Oliver Cromwell.

B. I do not much pity the Loss of those Men that impute to the King that which they do upon their own Quarrel.

A. Presently after this, some of the People of Surrey sent a Petition to the Parliament, for a personal Treaty between the King and Parliament; but their Messengers were beaten home again by the Soldiers that quartered about Westminster and the Mews. And then the Kentish Men, having a like Petition to deliver, and seeing how ill it was like to be received, threw it away, and took-up Arms. They had many gallant Officers, and, for their General, the Earl of Norwich; and they increased daily by Apprentices and old, disbanded, Soldiers, who joined them. Insomuch that the Parliament was glad to restore to the City their Militia, and to keep Guards upon the Thames Side: and then Fairfax marched towards the Enemy.

A tumultuous Assembly of the People of Surrey to present a Petition to Parliament in favour of the King.
An Insurrection in Kent in favour of the King.

B. And then the Londoners, I think, might easily and suddenly

suddenly have mastered, first, the Parliament, and, next Fairfax's 8000, and, lastly, Cromwell's Army : or, at least, might have given the Scotch Army an Opportunity of marching to London without meeting an Army to give them Battle.

A. 'Tis true ; but the City was never good at venturing ; nor were they, or the Scots, principled to have a King *over* them, but *under* them. Fairfax, marching with his 8000 men against the Royalists, routed a part of them at Maidstone ; another part were taken in other Places in Kent farther off ; and the Earl of Norwich, with the rest, came to Blackheath, and thence sent to the City to get a passage through it, in order to join with those which were risen in Essex under Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle ; which passage being refused, the greatest part of his Kentish Men deserted him. With the rest, not above 500, he crossed the Thames into the Isle of Dogs, and so to Bow, and thence to Colchester. Fairfax, having Notice of this, crossed the Thames at Gravesend ; and, overtaking them, besieged them in Colchester. The Town had no defence, but a Breast-work ; and yet it held-out (upon hope of the Scotch Army to relieve them,) for the Space of two Months. Upon the News of the Defeat of the Scots, they were forced to yield. The Earl of Norwich was sent Prisoner to London. Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, two loyal and gallant Persons, were shot to Death. There was another little Insurrection, headed by the Earl of Holland, about Kingston ; but it was quickly suppressed, and he himself taken Prisoner.

B. How came the Scots to be so soon dispatched ?

A. Meerly, as it is said, for want of Conduct. Their Army was led by Duke Hamilton, who was then set at Liberty, when Pendennis Castle, (where he was Prisoner,) was taken by the Parliamentarians. He entered England with Horse and Foot to the number of 15,000 men ; to which came above 3000 English Royalists. Against these Cromwell marched out of Wales with Horse and Foot 11,000 ; and, near to Preston in Lancashire, in less than two Hours, defeated them ; and the cause of it is said to be, that the Scotch Army was so ordered, that they could not all come to the Fight, nor relieve their Fellows. After the Defeat they had no Way to fly

But they are forced to retreat into Essex, and take shelter in Colchester, where they are besieged by General Fairfax, and forced to surrender.

Duke Hamilton marches into England at the head of a great Army of Scots.

But is totally defeated by Cromwell.

fly, but farther into England; so that in the pursuit they were almost all taken, and lost all that an Army can loose: for the few that got home, did not all bring home their Swords. Duke Hamilton was taken, and not long after sent to London; but Cromwell marched on to Edinburgh, and there (by the help of the Faction, which was contrary to Hamilton's,) he made sure not to be hindered in his Designs; the first whereof was to take-away the King's Life by the Hand of the Parliament.

Whilst these Things passed in the North, the Parliament (Cromwell being away) came to itself, and recalling their Vote of Non-addresses, sent to the King new Propositions, somewhat, but not much, easier than formerly; and upon the King's Answer to them, they sent Commissioners to treat with him, at Newport in the Isle of Wight, where they so long dodged with him about Trifles, that Cromwell was come to London before they had done, which brought-on the King's Destruction. For the Army was now wholly at the Devotion of Cromwell; who set the Adjutators on Work again to make a Remonstrance to the House of Commons, wherein they require; 1. That the King be brought to Justice. 2. That the Prince of Wales and Duke of York be summons'd to appear at a Day appointed, and be proceeded-with according as they should give Satisfaction. 3. That the Parliament settle the Peace and future Government, and set a reasonable Period to their own Sitting, and make certain future-Parliaments annual, or biennial. 4. That a competent Number of the King's chief Instruments be executed. And this to be done, both by the House of Commons, and by a general Agreement of the People, testified by their Subscriptions. Nor did they stay for an Answer, but presently set a Guard of Soldiers at the Parliament-house-door, and other Soldiers in Westminster-hall, suffering none to go into the House but such as would serve their Turns. All others were frighted-away, or made Prisoners, and some, upon divers Quarrels, suspended. Above ninety of them, because they had refused to vote against the Scots; and others, because they had voted against the Vote of Non-addresses: and the rest were an House for Cromwell. The Fanaticks also in the City, being countenanced by the Army, pack a new Common Council,

The Army makes a Remonstrance to the Parliament, requiring them to bring the King to Justice for having made War upon his People.

Council, whereof any forty was to be above the Mayor ; and their first Work was to frame a Petition for Justice against the King, which Tichborne, the Mayor, (involving the City in the Regicide) delivered to the Parliament.

At the same Time, with the like Violence, they took the King from Newport in the Isle of Wight, to Hurst Castle, till Things were ready for his Trial. The Parliament in the mean Time, to avoid Perjury, by an Ordinance declared void the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and presently after made another Ordinance to bring the King to his Trial.

B. This is a Piece of Law that I understood not before, that, when many Men swear singly, they may, when they are assembled, (if they please) absolve themselves from their former Oaths.

The House of Commons, (after a Majority of their Members have been forcibly prevented by the Army from attending it) passes an Ordinance for bringing the King to a Trial. But the House of Lords refuses to assent to it.

A. The Ordinance, being drawn-up, was brought into the House, where, after three several Readings, it was voted ; That the Lords and Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, do declare ; That, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Treason in the King of England to levy War against the Parliament. And this Vote was sent-up to the Lords ; and, on their refusing their Consent, the Commons, in Anger, made another Vote ; That all Members of Committees should proceed and act in any Ordinance, whether the Lords concurred or no : and that the People, under God, are the Original of all just Power ; and that the House of Commons have the Supreme Power of the Nation ; and that whatsoever the House of Commons enacteth is Law. All this passed *nemine contradicente*.

B. These Propositions fight, not only against a King of England, but against all the Kings in the World. It were good they thought on it. But yet, I believe, under God, the Original of all Laws was in the People.

A. But the People, for them and their Heirs, by Consent and Oaths, have long ago put the Supreme Power of the Nation into the Hands of their Kings, for them and their Heirs ; and consequently into the Hands of this King, their known and lawful Heir.

B. But does not the Parliament represent the People ?

A. Yes, to some Purposes ; as to put-up Petitions to the King, when they have Leave, and are grieved ; but

not

not to make a Grievance of the King's Power. Besides, the Parliament never represents the People, but when the King calls them ; nor is it to be imagined that he calls a Parliament to depose himself. Put the Case every County and Borough had given this Parliament for a Benevolence, a Sum of Money ; and that every County, meeting in their County-court, or elsewhere, and every Borough in their Town-hall, should have chosen certain Men to carry their several Sums respectively to the Parliament, Had not these Men represented the whole Nation ?

B. Yes, no Doubt.

A. Do you think the Parliament would have thought it reasonable to be called to Account by this Representative ?

B. No sure ; and yet I must confess the Case is the same.

A. This Ordinance contained, first a Summary of the Charge against the King, in Substance this ; That, not content with the Encroachments of his Predecessors upon the Freedom of the People, he had designed to set-up a tyrannical Government, and to that End had raised and maintained in the Land a Civil War against the Parliament, whereby the Country hath been miserably wasted, the public Treasure exhausted, thousands of people murdered, and infinite other Mischiefs committed.

Nevertheless the Ordinance is executed, and the King is brought to a trial, January 20, 1648-49.

Secondly, a Constitution passed of a High Court of Justice, that is, of a certain number of Commissioners, of whom any twenty had power to try the King, and to proceed to Sentence according to the Merit of the Case, and see it speedily executed. The Commissioners met on Saturday, Jan. 20, 1648-49, in Westminster-hall, and the King was brought before them : where, sitting in a Chair, he heard the Charge read, but refused to plead to it either *guilty* or *not guilty*, till he should know by what lawful Authority he was brought thither. The President told him ; That the Parliament affirmed their own Authority, and the King persevered in his Refusal to plead. Though many Words passed between him and the President, yet this was the Substance of it all.

On Monday, Jan. 22, the Court met again, and the Solicitor moved, that, if the King persisted in denying the Authority of the Court, the Charge might be taken *pro confesso* : but the King still denied their Authority.

They

They met again Jan. 23, and then the Solicitor moved the Court for Judgement; whereupon the King was required to give his final Answer, which was again a Denial of their Authority.

Lastly, They met again Jan. 27, where the King desired to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, and promised after that to abide the Judgement of the Court. The Commissioners retired for half an hour to consider of it, and then returning, caused the King to be brought again to the Bar, and told him, that what he proposed was but another Denial of the Court's Jurisdiction; and that, if he had no more to say, they would proceed. Then the King answering, that he had no more to say; the President began a long Speech in Justification of the Parliament's Proceedings, producing the Examples of many Kings killed, or deposed, by wicked Parliaments Ancient and Modern, in England, Scotland, and other parts of the World; All which he endeavoured to justify from this only Principle; that the People have the Supreme Power, and the Parliament is the People. This Speech ended, the Sentence of Death was read; and the same upon Tuesday after, Jan. 30, executed at the Gate of his own Palace of Whitehall. He that can delight in reading how villainously he was used by the Soldiers between the Sentence and Execution, may go to the Chronicle itself; in which he shall see what Courage, Patience, Wisdom, and Goodness, was in this Prince, whom, in their Charge, the Members of that wicked Parliament styled Tyrant, Traitor, and Murderer.

The King being dead, the same Day they made an Act of Parliament, That whereas several pretences might be made to the Crown, &c. It is enacted by this present Parliament, and by Authority of the same; that no Person presume to declare, proclaim, or publish, or any Way promote, Charles Stuart, Son of Charles late King of England, commonly called Prince of Wales, or any other Person, to be King of England, or Ireland, &c.

B. Seeing the King was dead, and his Successor barred; by what declared Authority was the Peace maintain'd?

A. They had, in their Anger against the Lords, formerly declared, the Supreme Power of the Nation to be in the House of Commons; and now, on February the 5th, they

And the King is afterwards condemned to death, and beheaded on the 30th January, 1648-49.

they vote the House of Lords to be useless and dangerous. And thus the Kingdom is turned into a Democracy, or rather an Oligarchy: For presently they made an Act; That none of those Members, who were secluded for opposing the Vote of Non-addresses, should ever be re-admitted. And these were commonly called *the secluded Members*, and the rest were by some styled *a Parliament*, and by others *the Rump*.

I think you need not now have a Catalogue, either of the Vices, or of the Follies, of the greatest Part of them that composed the long Parliament; than which greater cannot be in the World. What greater Vices than Irreligion, Hypocrisy, Avarice, and Cruelty; which have appeared so eminently in the Actions of Presbyterian Members, and Presbyterian Ministers? What greater Crimes than blaspheming and killing God's Anointed? which was done by the Hands of the Independents; but by the Folly and first Treason of the Presbyterians, who betrayed and sold him to his Murderers. Nor was it a little Folly in the Lords, not to see, that, by the taking-away of the King's Power, they lost withal their own Privileges; or to think themselves, either for Number or Judgement, any way a considerable assistance to the House of Commons. And, for those Men who had Skill in the Laws, it was no great Sign of Understanding, not to perceive that the Laws of the Land were made by the King, to oblige his Subjects to Peace and Justice, and not to oblige himself that made them. And lastly and generally, all Men are Fools which pull-down any Thing which does them good, before they set-up something better in its Place. He that would set-up Democracy with an Army, should have an Army to maintain it. But these Men did it, when those Men had the Army, that were resolved to pull it down. To these Follies I might add the Folly of those fine Men, who, out of their reading of Tully, Seneca, or other Antimonarchical writers, think themselves sufficient Politicians, and shew their Discontents, when they are not called to the Management of the State, and who turn from one Side to another, upon every Neglect they fancy themselves to have received from the King, or from his Enemies.

BEHEMOTH.

PART IV.

*Of the Government of England under the Republican remnant
of the Long Parliament and a Council of State.*

A. YOU have seen the Rump in Possession (as they believed) of the Supreme Power over the two Nations of England and Ireland, and the Army their Servant, though Cromwell thought otherwise, but yet continued to serve them diligently for the Advancement of his own Purposes. I am now therefore to shew you their Proceedings.

B. Tell me first, how this kind of Government, under the Rump, or Relick, of a House of Commons, is to be called?

A. 'Tis, doubtless, *an Oligarchy*. For the Supreme Authority must needs be in one Man, or in more. If in one, it is *a Monarchy*; if the Authority were in more than one, it was in all, or in fewer than all. When in all, it is *a Democracy*; for every Man may then enter into the Assembly, which makes the Sovereign Court; which they could not do here. It is therefore manifest, that the Authority was in a few, and consequently the State was *an Oligarchy*.

B. Is it not impossible for a people to be well-governed that are to obey more Masters than one?

A. Both the Rump, and all other Sovereign Assemblies, if they have but one Voice, though they be many Men, yet are they but one Person; for contrary Commands cannot consist in one and the same Voice, which

is

is the Voice of the greatest part: and therefore they might govern well enough, if they had Honesty and Wit enough.

The first Act of the Rump was the exclusion of those Members of the House of Commons, which had been formerly kept-out by Violence, for the procuring of an Ordinance for the King's Tryal; For these Men had appeared against the Ordinance of Non-addresses, and therefore to be excluded, because they might else be an Impediment to their future Designs.

B. Was it not rather, because in the Authority of few, they thought "the fewer, the better," both in respect of their Shares, and also of a nearer Approach in every one of them to the Dignity of a King?

A. Yes, certainly; that was their principal End.

B. When these were put-out; why did not the Counties and Boroughs chuse others in their Places?

A. They could not do that without an Order from the House. After this they constituted a Council of forty Persons, which they termed a *Council of State*; whose Office was to execute what the Rump should command.

The Parliament
erects a Council of
State.

B. When there was neither King, nor House of Lords, they could not call themselves a Parliament; for a Parliament is a Meeting of the King, Lords, and Commons, to confer together about the Businesses of the Commonwealth. With whom did the Rump confer?

A. Men may give to their Assembly what Name they please, what Signification soever such Name might formerly have had. And the Rump took the Name of *Parliament* as most suitable to their Purpose; and such a Name as (having been venerable amongst the People for many hundred Years,) had countenanced and sweetened Subsidies and other Levies of Money, otherwise very unpleasant to the Subject. They took also afterwards another Name, which was *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, which Titles they used only in their Writs issuing out of the Courts of Justice.

B. I do not see how a Subject, that is tied to the Laws, can have more Liberty in one form of Government than in another.

A. Howsoever, to the People that understand by *Liberty*

berly nothing but leave to do what they list, it was a Title not ingrateful.

Their next Work was to set-forth a publick Declaration; That they were fully resolved to maintain the fundamental Laws of the Nation, as to the Preservation of the Lives, Liberties, and Proprieties of the People.

B. What did they mean by the fundamental Laws of the Nation?

A. Nothing but to abuse the People: for the only fundamental Law in every Commonwealth is, To obey the Laws from Time to Time, which he shall make, to whom the People have given the Supreme Power. How likely then are those persons to uphold the fundamental Laws, who had murdered the Man, who had been by themselves so often acknowledged for their lawful Sovereign? Besides, at the same time that this Declaration came-forth, they were erecting that High Court of Justice, which took-away the Lives of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel. Whatsoever they meant by a fundamental Law, the erecting of this Court was a Breach of it, as being warranted by no former Law, or Example, in England.

At the same Time also they levied Taxes by Soldiers, and to Soldiers permitted Free-quarter, and did many other Actions, which, if the King had done them, they would have said, had been done against the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject.

B. What silly Things are the common sort of People, to be cozened, as they were, so grossly?

A. What sort of People, as to this Matter, are not of the common Sort? The craftiest Knaves of all the Rump were no wiser than the rest whom they cozened; for the most of them did believe, that the same Things which they imposed upon the Generality, were just and reasonable; and especially the great Haranguers, and such as pretended to Learning. For who can be a good Subject in a Monarchy, whose Principles are taken from the Enemies of Monarchy, such as were Cicero, Seneca, Cato, and other Politicians of Rome, and Aristotle of Athens, who seldom spake of Kings, but as of Wolves and other ravenous Beasts? You may, perhaps, think a Man has
need

need of nothing else to know the Duty he owes to his Governour, and what Right he has to order him, but a good natural Wit. But it is otherwise: for it is a Science, and built upon sure and clear Principles, and to be learned by deep and careful Study, or from Masters that have deeply studied it. And who was there in the Parliament, or in the Nation, that could find-out those evident Principles, and derive from them the necessary Rules of Justice, and the necessary Connection of Justice and Peace? The People have one Day in seven the Leisure to hear Instruction; and there are Ministers appointed to teach them their Duty. But how have those Ministers performed their Office? A great part of them, namely, the Presbyterian Ministers, throughout the whole War, instigated the People against the King; so did also Independents, and other fanatick Ministers. The rest, contented with their Livings, preached in their Parishes Points of Controversy, to Religion impertinent; but to the Breach of Charity among themselves very effectual: or else they preached eloquent Sermons, which the People either understood not, or thought themselves not concerned in. But this Sort of Preachers, as they did little Good, so they did little Hurt. The Mischief proceeded wholly from the Presbyterian Preachers, who, by a long-practised Histrionic Faculty, preached-up the Rebellion powerfully.

B. To what End?

A. To the End that, the State becoming popular, the Church might be so too, and governed by an Assembly, and by Consequence, (as they thought, seeing that Politics are subservient to Religion), that they might govern, and thereby satisfy, not only their covetous Humour with Riches, but also their Malice with Power to undo all Men that admired not their Wisdom. Your calling the People *silly Things*, obliged me by this Digression to shew you, that it is not want of Wit, but want of the Science of Justice, that brought them into these Troubles. Persuade, if you can, that Man that has made his Fortune, or made it greater, or an eloquent Orator, or a ravishing Poet, or a subtile Lawyer, or but a good Hunter, or a cunning Gamester, that he has not a good Wit; and yet there

were of all these a great many so silly as to be deceived by the Rump, and Members of the same Rump. They wanted not Wit, but the Knowledge of the Causes and Grounds upon which one Person has a Right to govern, and the rest an Obligation to obey; which Grounds are necessary to be taught the People, who, without them, cannot live long in Peace amongst themselves.

B. Let us return, if you please, to the Proceedings of the Rump.

The Parliament proceeds with severity against some of the principal Leaders of the King's Armies in the late second civil war.

N. B.

A. In the rest of this Year they voted a new Stamp for the Coin of this Nation. They considered also of Agents to be sent to foreign States; and having lately received Applause from the Army for their Work done by the High Court of Justice, and Encouragement to extend the same farther, they perfected the said High Court of Justice, in which were tried Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, the Earl of Norwich, and Sir John Owen, whereof, as I mentioned before, the three first were beheaded. This affrighted divers of the King's Party out of the Land: for not only they, but all that had borne Arms for the King were at that Time in very great Danger of their Lives. For it was put to the question by the Army at a Council of War, whether they should be all massacred or no, when the Noes carried it, but by two Voices. Lastly, March the 24th, they put the Mayor of London out of his Office, fined him 2000*l.* disfranchised him, and condemned him to two Months Imprisonment in the Tower, for refusing to proclaim the Act for abolishing the Kingly Power. And thus ended the Year 1648, and the monthly Fast; God having granted that which they fasted for, the Death of the King, and the Possession of his Inheritance. By these their Proceedings they had already lost the Hearts of the Generality of the People, and had nothing to trust to but the Army, which was not in their Power, but in Cromwell's, who never failed, when there was Occasion, to put them upon all exploits that might make them odious to the People, in order to his future dissolving them, whensoever it should conduce to his Ends.

In the Beginning of 1649, the Scots, discontented with the Proceedings of the Rump against the late King, began

began to levy Soldiers, in order to a new Invasion of England. The Irish Rebels, for want of timely Resistance from England, were grown terrible: and the English Army at home, infected by the Adjutators, were casting how to share the Land amongst the godly, meaning themselves; and such others as they pleased, who were therefore called *Levellers*. Also the Rump for the present were not very well provided of Money, and therefore the first thing they did was, to lay a Tax upon the People of 90,000*l.* a Month, for the Maintenance of the Army.

B. Was it not one of their Quarrels with the King, that he had levied Money without the Consent of the People in Parliament?

A. You may see by this what Reason the Rump had to call itself a Parliament; for the Taxes imposed by Parliament, were always understood to be by the People's Consent, and, consequently, legal.

To appease the Scots, they sent Messengers with flattering Letters to keep them from engaging for the present King; but in vain: for they would hear nothing from a House of Commons (as they called it) at Westminster, without a King and Lords. But they sent Commissioners to the King, to let him know what they were doing for him: for they were resolved to raise an Army of 17,000 Foot, and 6000 Horse, for themselves.

The Scots resolve to support the claim of King Charles the Second to the Crown of Scotland.

To relieve Ireland, the Rump had resolved to send eleven Regiments thither out of the Army in England. This happened well for Cromwell: for the *levelling* Soldiers, (which were in every Regiment many, and in some the major Part,) finding that, (instead of dividing the Land amongst themselves at home,) they were to venture their Lives in Ireland, flatly refused to go; and one Regiment, having cashiered their Colonel, about Salisbury, was marching to join with three Regiments more of the same Resolution. But both the General and Cromwell, falling upon them at Burford, utterly defeated them, and, soon after, reduced the whole Army to their Obedience. And thus another of the Impediments to Cromwell's Advancement was soon removed. This done, they came to Oxford, and thence to London: and at Oxford, both the

The *Levellers* in the Parliament's Army, refuse to go to Ireland to reduce the Irish Rebels.

But they are soon defeated by Lord Fairfax and Cromwell, and reduced to Obedience.

General and Cromwell were made Doctors of the Civil Law ; and at London feasted and presented by the City.

B. Were they not first made Masters, and then Doctors ?

The Parliament sends-over to Ireland eleven regiments of their Army, to reduce the Rebels to Obedience.

A. They had made themselves already Masters both of the Laws and the Parliament. The Army being now obedient, the Rump sent-over those eleven Regiments into Ireland, under the Command of Dr. Cromwell, who was intituled Governour of that Kingdom, the Lord Fairfax being still General of all the Forces, both here and there.

The Marquiss (now Duke) of Ormond, was the King's Lieutenant of Ireland ; and the Rebels had made a Confederacy amongst themselves ; and these Confederates had made a kind of League with the Lieutenant, wherein they agreed, upon Liberty given them in the Exercise of their Religion, to be faithful to, and assist, the King. To these also were joined some Forces raised by the Earls of Castlehaven, and Clanrickard, and my Lord Inchiquin ; so that they were the greatest united Strength in the Island : but there were amongst them a great many other Papists, that would by no means subject themselves to Protestants ; and these were called, *the Nuncio's Party*, as the others were called *the Confederate Party*. These Parties not agreeing, and the confederate Party having broken their Articles, the Lord-Lieutenant, (seeing them ready to besiege him in Dublin, and that he was not able to defend it,) did, to preserve the Place for the Protestants, surrender it to the Parliament of England, and came-over to the King, at that Time when he was carried from place to place by the Army, that is, about July, 1647. From England he went-over to the Prince of Wales, (now King) who resided then at Paris.

But the Confederates, affrighted with the News that the Rump was sending-over an Army thither, desired the Prince by Letters to send-back my Lord of Ormond, engaging themselves to submit absolutely to the King's Authority, and to obey my Lord of Ormond as his Lieutenant. And hereupon he was sent-back : this was about a Year before the going-over of Cromwell.

In which Time, by the Dissensions in Ireland, between the confederate Party and the Nuncio's Party, and Dis-

contents

contents about Command, this, otherwise sufficient Power, effected nothing, and was at last defeated, August 2, by a Sally out of Dublin, which they were besieging. Within a few Days after arrived Cromwell, who with extraordinary Diligence, and horrid Executions, in less than a Twelvemonth that he staid there, subdued in a manner the whole Nation, having killed or exterminated a great part of them, and leaving his Son-in-law Ireton to subdue the rest. But Ireton died there (before the Business was quite done) of the Plague. This was one Step more towards Cromwell's Exaltation to the Throne.

B. What a miserable Condition was Ireland reduced to by the Learning of the Roman, as well as England was by the Learning of the Presbyterian, Clergy!

A. In the latter End of the preceding Year, the King was come from Paris to the Hague: and shortly after came thither from the Rump, their Agent Dorislaus, Doctor of the civil Law, who had been employed in the Drawing-up of the Charge against the late King: but the first Night he came, as he was at Supper, a Company of Cavaliers, near a Dozen, enter'd his Chamber, kill'd him, and got-away. Not long after also their Agent at Madrid, one Ascham, one that had written in Defence of his Masters, was kill'd in the same manner. About this Time came out two Books, one written by Salmasius, a Presbyterian, against the Murder of the King, another written by Milton, an English Independent, in Answer to it.

B. I have seen them both. They are very good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is the better; and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is the worse; like two Declamations *pro* and *con*, made, for Exercise only, in a Rhetoric-School, by one and the same Man. So like is a Presbyterian to an Independent.

A. In this Year the Rump did not much at home; save that in the Beginning they made England a free State by an Act which runs thus: Be it enacted and declared by this present Parliament, and by the Authority thereof, That the People of England, and all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, are, and

Dr. Dorislaus, the Agent of the Parliament to the States of Holland, is murdered at the Hague by some English Royalists.

As is likewise Mr. Ascham, their Agent at Madrid.

Of the Books of Salmasius and Milton, on the Trial and Execution of King Charles the 1st.

The Parliament declares England to be a free State, or Commonwealth.

shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, and declared a Commonwealth and Free State, &c.

B. What did they mean by a Free State and Commonwealth? Were the People to be no longer subject to Laws? They could not mean that; for the Parliament meant to govern them by their own Laws, and punish such as broke them. Did they mean that England should not be subject to any foreign Kingdom or Commonwealth? That needed not be enacted, seeing there was no King nor People pretended to be their Masters. What did they mean then?

A. They meant that neither this King, nor any King, nor any single Person, but only that they themselves, would be the People's Masters, and would have set it down in those plain Words, if the People could have been cozened with Words intelligible, as easily as with Words not intelligible.

After this they gave one another Money and Estates out of the Lands and Goods of the loyal Party. They enacted also, an Engagement to be taken by every Man, in these Words: *You shall promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without King, or House of Lords.*

They banished also from within twenty Miles of London all the royal Party, forbidding also every one of them to depart more than five Miles from his Dwelling-House.

B. They meant perhaps to have them ready, if need were, for a Massacrè. But what did the Scots in this Time?

The Scots make preparations to raise an Army to support the King's Title to the Crown of Scotland.

A. They were considering of the Officers of the Army, which they were levying for the King, how they might exclude from Command all such as had loyally served his Father, and all Independents, and all such as commanded in Duke Hamilton's Army; and these were the main Things that passed this Year.

The Marquiss of Montross, that in the Year 1645 had, with a few Men, and in little Time, done Things almost incredible against the late King's Enemies in Scotland, landed now again in the Beginning of the Year 1650 in the North of Scotland, with a Commission from the present King, hoping to do him as good Service, as he had formerly

merly done his Father : but the case was altered ; for the Scotch Forces were then in England in the Service of the Parliament ; whereas now they were in Scotland, and many more (for their intended Invasion) newly raised. Besides the Soldiers which the Marquiss brought-over were few, and Foreigners, nor did the Islanders come-in to him as he expected ; insomuch that he was soon defeated, and shortly after taken, and (with more spiteful Usage than Revenge required) executed by the Covenanters at Edinburgh, May 2, 1650.

The Marquiss of Montrosse is put to death at Edinburgh on the 2nd of May, 1650.

B. What Good could the King expect from joining with these Men, who, during the Treaty, discovered so much Malice to him in one of his best Servants ?

A. No Doubt (their Churchmen being then prevalent) they would have done as much to this King, as the English Parliament had done to his Father, if they could have gotten by it that which they foolishly aspired to, the Government of the Nation. I do not believe that the Independents were worse than the Presbyterians ; both the one and the other were resolved to destroy whatsoever should stand in the Way to their Ambition. But Necessity made the King pass-over both this and many other Indignities from them, rather than suffer the Pursuit of his Right in England to cool, and be little better than extinguished.

B. Indeed I believe a Kingdom, if suffered to become an old Debt, will hardly ever be recovered. Besides, the King was sure, wheresoever the Victory lighted, that he could lose nothing in the War, but Enemies.

A. About the Time of Montrosse's Death, which was in May, Cromwell was yet in Ireland, and his work unfinished: but finding, or being by his Friends advertised, that his Presence in the Expedition now preparing against the Scots, would be necessary to his Design, he sent to the Rump to know their Pleasure concerning his Return. But, for all that, he either knew, or thought, that it was not necessary to stay for their Answer ; for he came-away, and arrived at London on the sixth of June following, and was welcomed by the Rump. Now had General Fairfax (who was truly what he pretended to be, a Presbyterian) been so catechised by the Presbyterian Ministers here, that he refused to fight against the Brethren in Scotland ;

Cromwell returns to London from Ireland. June 6th, 1650,

Lord Fairfax resigns his Office of Commander in chief of the Army; and Cromwell is appointed to it in his stead.

King Charles the 2nd lands in the North of Scotland.

nor did the Rump, nor Cromwell, go-about to rectify his Conscience in that Point; and thus Fairfax, laying-down his Commission, Cromwell was now made General of all the Forces in England and Ireland; which was another Step to the Sovereign Power.

B. Where was the King?

A. In Scotland, newly come-over. He landed in the North, and was honourably conducted to Edinburgh, though all things were not well agreed-on between the Scots and him: for though he had yielded to as hard Conditions, as the late King had yielded to in the Isle of Wight, yet they had still somewhat to add, till the King enduring no more, departed from them towards the North again. But they sent Messengers after him to pray him to return; and they furnished these Messengers with Strength enough to bring him back if he should have refused. In fine, they agreed; but would not suffer either the King, or any Royalist, to have any Command in the Army.

B. The Sum of all is, the King was there a Prisoner.

A. Cromwell from Berwick sends a Declaration to the Scots, telling them he had no Quarrel against the People of Scotland; but against the malignant Party, that had brought-in the King, to the disturbance of the Peace between the two Nations; and that he was willing, either by Conference to give and receive Satisfaction, or to decide the Justice of the Cause by Battle. To which the Scots answering, declare; That they will not prosecute the King's Interest before, and without his Acknowledgement of the Sins of his House, and his former Ways, and Satisfaction given to God's People in both Kingdoms. Judge by this, whether the present King were not in as bad a Condition here, as his Father was in the Hands of the Presbyterians of England.

B. Presbyterians are every where the same: they would fain be absolute Governours of all they converse with; and have nothing to plead for it, but that "where they reign, 'tis God that reigns, and no where else." But I observe one strange Demand, "that the King should acknowledge the Sins of his House;" for I thought it had been certainly held by all Divines, "that no Man was bound to acknowledge any Man's Sins, but his own."

A.

A. The King, having yielded to all that the Church required, the Scots proceeded in their intended War. Cromwell marched-on to Edinburgh, provoking them all he could to Battle; which they declining, and provisions growing scarce in the English Army, Cromwell retired to Dunbar, despairing of Success; and intending by Sea or Land to get back into England. And such was the Condition, which this General Cromwell (so much magnified for Conduct) had brought his Army to, that all his Glories would have ended in Shame and Punishment, if Fortune, and the Faults of his Enemies, had not relieved him. For, as he retired, the Scots followed him close all the Way, till within a Mile of Dunbar. There is a Ridge of Hills, that, from beyond Edinburgh, crosses the Highway between Dunbar and Berwick, at a Village called Copperspeith, where the Passage is so difficult, that had the Scots sent timely thither a very few Men to guard it, the English could never have gotten home. For the Scots kept the Hills and needed not have fought but upon great Advantage, and were almost two to one. Cromwell's Army was at the Foot of those Hills on the North Side; and there was a great Ditch or Channel of a Torrent between the Hills and it; so that he could never have got home by Land, nor without utter Ruin of the Army attempted to ship it; nor have stayed where he was for want of Provisions. Now Cromwell, knowing the Pass was free, and commanding a good Party of Horse and Foot to possess it; it was necessary for the Scots to let them go, whom they bragged they had impounded, or else to fight; and therefore with the best of their Horse they charged the English and made them at first to shrink a little: but the English Foot coming-on, the Scots were put to flight; and the flight of the Horse hindered the Foot from engaging, who therefore fled, as did also the rest of their Horse. Thus the Folly of the Scottish Commanders brought all their Odds to an even Lay, between two small and equal Parties; wherein Fortune gave the Victory to the English, who were not many more in Number than those that were killed and taken Prisoners of the Scots, who lost their Cannon, Bag and Baggage, with 10,000 Arms, and almost

Cromwell defeats
the Scotch army at
Dunbar. September
3, 1650.

almost their whole Army. The rest were got together by Lesly to Sterling.

B. This Victory happened well for the King. For, if the Scots had been Victors, the Presbyterians, both here and there, would have domineered again, and the King been in the same Condition his Father was in at Newcastle, in the Hands of the Scottish Army. For, in the Pursuit of this Victory, the English at last brought the Scots to a pretty good Habit of Obedience for the King, whensoever he should recover his Right.

And after his Victory, marches to Edinburgh.

A. In Pursuit of this Victory the English marched to Edinburgh, (quitted by the Scots) fortified Leith, and took in all the Strength and Castles they thought fit, on this Side the Frith, which now was become the bound betwixt the two Nations; and the Scotch Ecclesiastics began to know themselves better, and resolved in their new Army, which they meant to raise, to admit some of the Royalists into Command. Cromwell from Edinburgh marched towards Sterling, to provoke the Enemy to fight: but finding Danger in it, returned to Edinburgh, and besieged the Castle. In the mean time he sent a Party into the West of Scotland to suppress Straugham and Kerr, two great Presbyterians, that were there levying of Forces for their new Army, And in the same Time the Scots crowned the King at Schone.

Charles the 2nd is crowned King of Scotland at Schone.

The rest of this Year was spent in Scotland, on Cromwell's part, in taking of Edinburgh Castle, and in Attempts to pass the Frith, or any other Ways to get-over to the Scottish Forces; and, on the Scots part, in hastening their Levies for the North.

B. What did the Rump at home during this Time!

The Proceedings of the Parliament in England.

A. They voted Liberty of Conscience to the Sectaries; they pluckt out the Sting of the Presbytery, which consisted in a severe imposing of odd Opinions upon the People, impertinent to Religion, but conducing to the Advancement of the Power of the Presbyterian Ministers. Also they levied more Soldiers, and gave the Command of them to Harrison, now made Major-General, a Fifth-monarchy-man; and of these Soldiers two Regiments of Horse and one of Foot were raised by the Fifth-monarchy-men,

men, and other Sectaries, in Thankfulness for this their Liberty from the Presbyterian Tyranny. Also they pulled-down the late King's Statue in the Exchange; and in the Nich where it stood, caused to be written these Words, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*, &c.

B. What Good did that do them, and why did they not pull down the Statues of all the rest of the Kings?

A. What Account can be given of Actions that proceeded not from Reason, but from Spight, and such like Passions? Besides this, they received Ambassadors from Portugal and from Spain, acknowledging their Power. And, in the very End of the Year, they prepared Ambassadors to the Netherlands, to offer them Friendship. All they did besides, was persecuting and executing of Royalists.

In the Beginning of the Year 1651, General Dean arrived in Scotland; and on the 11th of April the Scottish Parliament assembled, and made certain Acts, in order to a better uniting of themselves, and better Obedience to the King, who was now at Sterling with the Scottish Forces he had, expecting more now in levying. Cromwell from Edinburgh went divers times towards Sterling, to provoke the Scots to fight. There was no Ford there to pass over his men; at last Boats being come from London and Newcastle, Colonel Overton (though it were long first, for it was now July) transported 1400 Foot of his own, besides another Regiment of Foot, and four Troops of Horse, and entrenched himself at North-ferry on the other side; and before any Help could come from Sterling, Major-General Lambert also was got-over with as many more. By this Time Sir John Browne was come to oppose them with 4500 Men, whom the English there defeated, killing about 2000, and taking Prisoners 1600. This done, and as much more of the Army transported as was thought fit, Cromwell comes before St. Johnston's (from whence the Scottish Parliament, upon the News of his passing the Frith, was removed to Dundee) and summons it; and the same Day had News brought him that the King was marching from Sterling towards England, which was

true;

The King of Scotland, Charles the Second, is at Sterling with his Army. In April, 1651.

A body of 4500 Scottish troops are defeated by the English Army at North Ferry.

The King, with his Scottish Army marches towards England.

Cromwell, with his English Army, besieges and takes St. Johnston, and then marches into England in pursuit of the King's Scottish Army.

true; but notwithstanding the King was three Days March before him, he resolved to have the Town before he followed him; and accordingly had it the next Day by Surrender.

B. What Hopes had the King in coming into England, having before and behind him none, at least none armed, but his Enemies?

A. Yes; there was before him the City of London, which generally hated the Rump: and might easily be reckoned for 20,000 well-armed Soldiers; and most men believed they would take his Part, had he come near the City.

B. What Probability was there of that? Do you think the Rump was not sure of the Service of the Mayor, and those that had Command of the City Militia? And, if they had been really the King's Friends, what Need had they to stay for his coming-up to London? They might have seized the Rump, if they had pleased; who had no Possibility of defending themselves: or, at least, they might have turned them out of the House.

A. This they did not; but, on the contrary, permitted the Recruiting of Cromwell's Army, and the raising of Men to keep the Country from coming-in to the King. The King began his March from Sterling the last of July, and August the 22d came to Worcester by the Way of Carlisle, with a weary Army of about 13,000 men, whom Cromwell followed, and being joined with the new Levies, environed Worcester with 40,000 men, and on the 3d of September utterly defeated the King's Army. Here Duke Hamilton, (the Brother of him that was beheaded,) was slain.

B. What became of the King?

A. Night coming-on, before the City was quite taken, he left it, it being dark, and none of the Enemies Horse within the Town to follow him; the plundering Foot having kept the Gates shut, lest the Horse should enter and have a Share of the Booty. The King, before Morning, got into Warwickshire, twenty-five Miles from Worcester, and there lay disguised a while, and afterwards went up and down in great Danger of being discovered,

And gains a complete victory over the King's Army at Worcester, on the 3d of September, 1651.

The King escapes, and, after many difficulties, gets to France.

covered, till at last he got over into France from Bright-helmstone in Sussex.

B. When Cromwell was gone, what was farther done in Scotland?

A. Lieutenant-General Monk, whom Cromwell left there with 7000 men, took Sterling, August 14th, by Surrender, and Dundee the third of September, by Storm, because it resisted; this the Soldiers plundered, and had good Booty, because the Scots for Safety had sent thither their most precious Goods from Edinburgh and St. Johnston. He took likewise by Surrender Aberdeen, and (the Place where the Scottish Ministers first learned to play the Fools) St. Andrew's. Also in the Highlands Colonel Alured took a Knot of Lords and Gentlemen, viz. four Earls, and four Lords, and above twenty Knights and Gentlemen, whom he sent Prisoners into England. So that there was nothing more to be feared from Scotland; all the Trouble of the Rump, being to resolve what they should do with it. At last they resolved to unite and incorporate it into one Commonwealth with England and Ireland. And to that End sent thither St. Johns, Vane, and other Commissioners, to offer them this Union by publick Declaration, and to warn them to choose their Deputies of Shires, and Burgesses of Towns, and send them to Westminster.

B. This was a very great Favour.

A. I think so: and yet it was by many of the Scots, especially by the Ministers and other Presbyterians, refused. The Ministers had given Way to the levying of Money for the Payment of the English Soldiers; but to comply with the Declaration of the English Commissioners they absolutely forbade.

B. Methinks this contributing to the Pay of their Conquerors was some Mark of Servitude; whereas entering into the Union made them free, and gave them equal Privilege with the English.

A. The Cause why they refused the Union, render'd by the Presbyterians themselves, was this, That it drew with it a Subordination of the Church to the Civil State in the Things of Christ.

B. This is a downright Declaration to all Kings and Common-

Lieutenant-General Monk commands a body of Troops in Scotland, and reduces the whole country to a Subjection to the Parliament of England.

The Parliament of England offers the Scottish Nation an Union and Incorporation with their own Commonwealth.

But, by the Advice of their Presbyterian Ministers, the Scots refuse the Offer.

Commonwealths in general, that a Presbyterian Minister will be a true Subject to none of them in the Things of Christ, which Things what they are, they will be Judges themselves. What have we then gotten by our Deliverance from the Pope's Tyranny, if these petty Men succeed in the Place of it, that have nothing in them that can be beneficial to the Publick, except their Silence? For their Learning, it amounts to no more than an imperfect Knowledge of Greek and Latin, and an acquired Readiness in the Scripture-Language, with a Gesture and Tone suitable thereunto; but of Justice and Charity (the Manners of Religion) they have neither Knowledge nor Practice, as is manifest by the Stories I have already told you: Nor do they distinguish between the Godly and the Ungodly, but by Conformity of Design in Men of Judgement, or by Repetition of their Sermons in the common Sort of People.

But notwithstanding their refusal, the English Parliament passes an Act for uniting the two Nations in one Commonwealth.

A. But this Sullenness of the Scots was to no Purpose: for they at Westminster enacted the Union of the two Nations, and the Abolition of Monarchy in Scotland, and ordained Punishment for those that would transgress that Act.

B. What other Business did the Rump this Year?

They then offer to the united Provinces of the Netherlands to form a League with them for the Benefit of Trade and Navigation.

A. They sent St. Johns and Strickland Ambassadors to the Hague, to offer League to the United Provinces, who had Audience March the third. St. Johns in a Speech shewed those States, what Advantages they might have by this League in their Trade and Navigations, by the Use of the English Ports and Harbours. The Dutch, though they shewed no great Forwardness in the Business, yet appointed Commissioners to treat with them about it. But the People were generally against it, calling the Ambassadors and their Followers (as they were) Traitors and Murderers, and made such Tumults about their House, that their Followers durst not go abroad till the States had quieted them. The Rump, advertised hereof, presently recall'd them. The Compliment which St. Johns gave to the Commissioners, at their taking Leave, is worth your hearing. *You have, said he, an Eye upon the Event of the Affairs in Scotland, and therefore do refuse the Friendship we have offered. Now*

But the Dutch people are averse to it.

I can

I can assure you, many in the Parliament were of Opinion, that we should not have sent any Ambassadors to you, till we had superated those Matters between them and that King, and then expected your Ambassadors to us. I now perceive our Error, and that those Gentlemen were in the right. In a short Time you shall see that Business ended; and then you will come and seek what we have freely offered, when it shall perplex you that you have refused our Proffer.

B. St. Johns was not sure that the Scottish Business would end as it did. For though the Scots were beaten at Dunbar, he could not be sure of the Event of their entering England, which happened afterward.

A. But he guess'd well: for within a Month after the Battle at Worcester, an Act passed, forbidding the importing of Merchandise in other than English ships. The English also molested their Fishing upon our Coast. They also many times searched their Ships, (upon Occasion of our War with France) and made some of them Prize. And then the Dutch sent their Ambassador hither, to desire what they before refused; but partly also to inform themselves what Naval Forces the English had ready, and how the People here were contented with the Government.

B. How sped they?

A. The Rump shewed now as little Desire of Agreement as the Dutch did then; standing upon Terms never likely to be granted. First; for the Fishing on the English Coast, that they should not have it without paying for it. Secondly, that the English should have free Trade from Middleburgh to Antwerp, as they had before their Rebellion against the King of Spain. Thirdly, they demanded Amends for the old (but never to be forgotten) Business of Amboyna: So that the War was already certain, though the Season kept them from Action till the Spring following. The true Quarrel on the English part was, that their proffer'd Friendship was scorned, and their Ambassadors affronted: On the Dutch part was, their Greediness to engross all Traffick, and a false Estimate of our and their own Strength.

Whilst these Things were doing, the Relicks of the War,

The English Parliament passes the Act of Navigation. In October, 1651.

The Dutch then seek to form an Alliance with England.

But the Parliament insists upon high terms, which they will not comply with.

War, both in Ireland and Scotland, were not neglected, though those Nations were not fully pacified till two Years after. The persecution also of Royalists still continued, amongst whom was beheaded one Mr. Love, for holding Correspondence with the King.

B. I had thought a Presbyterian Minister, whilst he was such, could not be a Royalist, because they think their Assembly have the supreme Power in the Things of Christ; and by consequence they are in England (by a Statute) Traitors.

A. You may think so still: for, though I called Mr. Love a Royalist, I meant it only on account of the one Act, for which he was condemned. It was he, who (during the Treaty at Uxbridge, preaching before the Commissioners there), said, it was as possible for Heaven and Hell, as for the King and Parliament, to agree. Both he and the rest of the Presbyterians are and were Enemies to the King's Enemies, that is, to Cromwell and his Fanaticks, for their own, not for the King's, Sake. Their Loyalty was like that of Sir John Hotham, that kept the King out of Hull, and afterwards would have betray'd the same to the Marquiss of Newcastle. These Presbyterians, therefore, cannot be rightly called Loyal, but rather doubly perfidious, unless you think, that as two Negatives make an Affirmative, so two Treasons make Loyalty.

This Year also were reduced to the Obedience of the Rump, the Islands of Scilly and Man, and the Barbadoes, and St. Christophers. One Thing fell-out that they liked not, which was, that Cromwell gave them Warning to determine their Sitting, according to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments.

B. That, I think, indeed was harsh.

The beginning of the
Dutch War, May
14, 1652.

A. In the Year 1652, May the 14th, began the Dutch War in this manner: Three Dutch Men of War, with divers Merchants from the Streights, being discovered by one Captain Young, who commanded some English Frigates, the said Young sent to their Admiral to bid him strike his Flag, (a Thing usually done in Acknowledgment of the English Dominion in the narrow Seas) which accordingly he did. Then came-up the Vice-Admiral, and being called-to as the other was, to
take

take-down his Flag; he answered plainly, "he would not:" but after the Exchange of four or five Broad-sides, and Mischief done, on either Part, he took it down: but Captain Young demanded also, either the Vice-Admiral himself, or his Ship, to make good the Damage already sustained: To which the Vice-Admiral answer'd, that he had taken-in his Flag, but would defend himself and his Ship. Whereupon Captain Young consulted with the Captains of his other Ships, lest the Beginning of the War, in this Time of Treaty, should be charged upon himself, and, Night also coming-on, thought fit to proceed no farther.

B. The War certainly began at this Time; but who began it?

A. The Dominion of the Seas belonging to the English, there can be no question but the Dutch began it: and "that the said Dominion belonged to the English," it was confessed at first by the Admiral himself peaceably, and at last by the Vice-Admiral, after some fighting, taking-in their Flags.

About a Fortnight after, there happened another Fight upon the like Occasion. Van-Tromp, with forty-two Men of War, came to the Back of the Goodwin-Sands, (Major Bourne being then with a few of the Parliament's Ships in the Downs, and Blake with the rest farther Westward) and sent two Captains of his to Bourne, to excuse his coming thither. To whom Bourne returned this Answer; That the Message was civil, but, that it might appear real, he ought to depart. So Tromp departed, meaning, (now Bourne was satisfied,) to sail towards Blake; and he did so; but so did also Bourne, for fear of the worst. When Tromp and Blake were near one another, Blake made a Shot over Tromp's Ship, as a Warning to him to take-in his Flag. This he did thrice, and then Tromp gave him a Broadside, and so began the Fight; at the Beginning whereof Bourne came-in; and it lasted from two o'Clock till Night, the English having the better, and the Flag, as before, making the Quarrel.

A dispute and fight between a Dutch and an English ship concerning *the Right of the Flag*, claimed by the English ships of war in the English Channel.

Another sea-fight on the same account.

B. What needs there, when both Nations were heartily resolved to fight, to stand so much upon this Compliment of who should begin? for, as to the gaining of

Friends and Confederates thereby, I think it was in vain; seeing that Princes and States in such Occasions look not much upon the Justice of their Neighbours, but upon their own Concernment in the Event.

A. It is commonly so; but in this Case the Dutch (knowing the Dominion of the narrow Seas to be a gallant Title, and envied by all Nations that reach the Shore, and consequently that they were likely to oppose it,) did wisely enough in making this Point the Ground of the Quarrel. After this fight, the Dutch Ambassadors residing in England, sent a Paper to the Council of State, wherein they styled this last Encounter *a rash Action*, and affirmed that it was done without the Knowledge, and against the Will, of their Lords the States-General, and desired them that nothing might be done upon it in Heat, which might become irreparable. The Parliament thereupon voted; 1. That the States-General should pay the Charges they were at. and for the Damages they sustained upon this Occasion. 2. That this being paid, there should be a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility, and a mutual Restitution of all Ships and Goods taken. 3. And, both these being agreed-to, that there should be made a League between the two Commonwealths. These Votes were sent to the Dutch Ambassadors in answer to the said Paper; but with a Preamble, setting-forth the former Kindnesses of England to the Netherlands, and taking Notice of their new Fleet of 150 Men of War, without any other apparent Design than the Destruction of the English Fleet.

B. What Answer made the Dutch to this?

A. None. Tromp sailed presently into Zealand, and Blake with seventy Men of War to the Orkney Islands, to seize their Busses, and to wait for five Dutch Ships from the East-Indies. And Sir George Ascue, newly returned from Barbadoes, came into the Downs with fifteen Men of War, where he was commanded to stay for a Recruit out of the Thames.

A war is declared between the Dutch and the English Commonwealths.

Tromp being recruited now to 120 Sail, made account to get-in between Sir George Ascue and the Mouth of the River, but was hindered so long by contrary Winds, that the Merchants calling for his Convoy, he

he could stay no longer, and so he went back into Holland, and thence to Orkney, where he met with the said five East-India Ships, and sent them Home. And then he endeavoured to engage with Blake: but a sudden Storm forced him to Sea, and so dissipated his Fleet, that only forty-two came home in a Body, the rest singly, as well as they could, Blake also came home, but went first to the Coast of Holland with nine hundred Prisoners, and six Men of War taken, which were Part of twelve which he found and took guarding their Busses. This was the first Bout after the War declared.

In August following there happened a Fight between De Ruyter, the Admiral of Zealand, with fifty Men of War, and Sir George Ascue near Plymouth, with forty, wherein Sir George had the better, and might have got an entire Victory, had the whole Fleet engaged. Whatsoever was the Matter, the Rump (though they rewarded him) never employed him after his Return, in their Service at Sea; But voted, for the Year to come, three Generals, Blake that was one already, and Dean and Monk.

A sea-fight near Plymouth between the Dutch and English fleets. In August, 1652.

About this Time the Arch-Duke Leopold besieging Dunkirk, and the French sending a Fleet to relieve it, General Blake lighting on the French at Calais, and taking seven of their Ships, was Cause of the Town's Surrender.

In September they fought again, De Wit and Ruyter commanding the Dutch, and Blake the English, and the Dutch were again worsted.

Another sea fight in September, 1652.

Again in the End of November Van Tromp, with eighty Men of War, shewed himself at the back of the Goodwin Sands; where Blake, though he had with him but forty, adventured to fight with him, and had much the worst, and (Night parting the Fray) retir'd into the River of Thames; whilst Van Tromp, keeping the Sea, took some inconsiderable Vessels from the English, and thereupon (as it was said) with a Childish Vanity, hung-out a Broom from the Main-top-mast, signifying that he meant to sweep the Seas of all English Shipping.

A third in November, 1652.

After this, in February, the Dutch with Van Tromp were encountered by the English under Blake and Dean, near Portsmouth, and had the Worst. And these were all the Encounters between them in this Year, in the

A fourth in February, 1652-1653.

narrow Seas. They fought also once at Leghorn, where the Dutch had the better.

B. I see no great Odds yet on either Side; if there were any, the English had it.

A. Nor did either of them e'er the more incline to Peace. For the Hollanders, after they had sent Ambassadors into Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and the Hans towns, (whence Tar and Cordage are usually had) to signify the Declaration of the War, and to get them to their Party, recalled their Ambassadors from England; and the Rump, without Delay gave them their parting Audience; without abating a Syllable of their former severe Propositions. And presently, to maintain the War for the next Year, laid a Tax upon the People of 120,000*l.* *per mensem.*

B. What was done in the mean Time at home?

Cromwell encourages the Army to complain of the Parliament; about December, 1652.

A. Cromwell was now quarrelling with (the last and greatest Obstacle to his Design) the Rump. And to that End there came-out daily from the Army, Petitions, Addresses, Remonstrances, and other such Papers: Some of them urging the Rump to dissolve themselves, and make Way for another Parliament. To which the Rump, unwilling to yield, and not daring to refuse, determined for the End of their sitting the Fifth of November 1654. But Cromwell meant not to stay so long. In the mean Time, the Army in Ireland was taking Submissions, and granting Transportations of the Irish, and condemning whom they pleas'd, in a High Court of Justice erected there for that Purpose. Amongst those that were executed, was hang'd Sir Phelim Oneale, who first began the Rebellion.

In Scotland, the English built some Citadels for the bridling of that stubborn Nation: And thus ended the Year 1652.

B. Come we then to the Year 1653.

Cromwell dissolves the Commonwealth-Parliament by a sudden irruption of a Party of Soldiers. April 23, 1653.

A. Cromwell wanted now but one Step to the End of his Ambition, and that was to set his Foot upon the Neck of this long Parliament, which he did the 23d of April, this present Year 1653, a Time very seasonable. For, though the Dutch were not mastered, they were much weakened; and what with Prizes from the Enemy, and squeezing

squeezing the Royal Party, the Treasury was pretty full, and the Tax of 120,000*l.* a Month began to come-in ; all which was his own in right of the Army.

Therefore without more ado, attended by the Major-Generals Lambert and Harrison, and some other Officers, and as many Soldiers as he thought fit, he went to the Parliament-House, and dissolved them, turned them out, and locked-up the doors. And for this Action he was more applauded by the People, than for any of his Victories in the War, and the Parliament-Men as much scorned and derided.

B. Now that there was no Parliament, who had the supreme Power ?

A. If by Power you mean the Right to govern, nobody had it : if you mean the supreme strength, it was clearly in Cromwell, who was obeyed as General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

B. Did he pretend that for Title ?

A. No : But presently after he invented a Title, which was this ; That he was necessitated for the Defence of the Cause, for which at first the Parliament had taken-up Arms, (that is to say, rebelled) to have Recourse to extraordinary Actions. You know the Pretence of the long Parliament's Rebellion was *Salus Populi*, The Safety of the Nation against a dangerous Conspiracy of Papists, and a malignant Party at home, and that every Man is bound as far as his Power extends, to procure the Safety of the whole Nation ; (which none but the Army were able to do ; and the Parliament had hitherto neglected) was it not then the General's Duty to do it ? Had he not therefore Right ? For that Law of *Salus Populi* is directed only to those that have Power enough to defend the People ; that is, to them that have the supreme Power.

B. Yes certainly, he had as good a Title as the long Parliament. But the long Parliament did represent the People ; and it seems to me, that the Sovereign Power is essentially annexed to the Representative of the People.

A. Yes, if he that makes a Representative, that is, (in the present Case) the King, do call them together to receive the Sovereign Power, and he divest himself thereof ; otherwise not. Nor was ever the lower House of Parlia-

ment the Representative of the whole Nation, but of the Commons only ; nor had that House the Power to oblige, by their Acts, or Ordinances, any Lord, or any Priest.

B. Did Cromwell come in upon the only Title of *Salus Populi* ?

A. This is a Title that very few Men understand. His way was to get the Supreme Power conferred upon him by Parliament. Therefore he called a Parliament, and gave it the Supreme Power, to the end that they should give it to him again. Was not this witty ? First therefore, he published a Declaration of the Causes why he dissolved the Parliament. The Sum whereof was, that, instead of endeavouring to promote the Good of God's People, they endeavoured (by a Bill then ready to pass) to recruit the House, and perpetuate their own Power. Next he constituted a Council of State of his own Creatures to be the Supreme Authority of England ; but no longer than till the next Parliament should be called, and met. Thirdly, he summoned 142 Persons, such as he himself, or his trusty Officers, made Choice of : the greatest part of whom were instructed what to do, obscure Persons, and most of them Fanaticks, though styled by Cromwell, Men of approved Fidelity and Honesty. To these the Council of State surrendered the supreme Authority ; and, not long after, these Men surrendered it to Cromwell. July the 4th this Parliament met, and chose for their Speaker one Mr. Rous, and called themselves, from that Time forward, the Parliament of England : but Cromwell, for the more Surety, constituted also a Council of State, not of such petty Fellows as most of these were, but of himself, and his principal Officers. These did all the Business both publick and private, making Ordinances, and giving Audience to Foreign Ambassadors. But he had now more Enemies than before. Harrison, who was the Head of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, laying-down his Commission, did nothing but animate his Party against him ; for which afterwards he was imprisoned. This little Parliament, in the mean time, were making of Acts so ridiculous, and so displeasing to the People, that it was thought he chose them on Purpose to bring all ruling Parliaments into Contempt, and Monarchy again into Credit.

Cromwell summons a new Parliament of only 142 members, not chosen by the People, but nominated by himself and his Officers ; who meet on the 4th of July, 1653.

B. What Acts were these?

A. One of them was, That all Marriages should be made by a Justice of Peace, and the Banns asked three several Days in the next Market; None were forbidden to be married by a Minister, but without a Justice of Peace the Marriage was to be void: So that divers wary Couples (to be sure of one another, howsoever they might repent of it afterwards) were married both ways. Also they abrogated the Engagement, whereby no Man was admitted to sue in any Court of Law, that had not taken it, that is, that had not acknowledged the late Rump.

Some of the most remarkable Acts passed by them.

B. Neither of these did any Hurt to Cromwell.

A. They were also in hand with an Act to cancel all the present Laws and Law-Books, and to make a new Code more suitable to the Humour of the Fifth-monarchy-men; of whom there were many in this Parliament. Their Tenet being, that there ought none to be Sovereign, but King Jesus, nor any to govern under him, but the Saints. But their Authority ended before this Act passed.

The leading Tenet of the *Fifth-Monarchy men*.

B. What was this to Cromwell?

A. Nothing yet. But they were likewise upon an Act, now almost ready for the Question: That Parliaments henceforward, one upon the End of another, should be perpetual.

B. I understand not this, unless Parliaments can beget one another like Animals, or like the Phoenix.

A. Why not like the Phoenix? Cannot a Parliament at the Day of their Expiration send-out Writs for a new one?

B. Do you think they would not rather summon themselves anew, and to save the Labour of coming-again at Westminster, sit still where they were? Or, if they summon the Country to make new Elections, and then dissolve themselves, by what Authority shall the People meet in their County-Courts, there being no supreme Authority standing?

A. All they did was absurd, though they knew not that. Nor did they know this, "whose Design was upon the Sovereignty:" the Contriver of this Act, it seems, perceived it not; but Cromwell's Party in the House saw it well enough.

The Little Parliament surrender their Power to Cromwell. December 12, 1653.

Cromwell assumes the Sovereign Power of the Nation by the title of *Protector of the Commonwealth*. December 16, 1653.

And therefore, as soon as it was laid, there stood up one of the Members, and made a Motion, that, since the Commonwealth was like to receive little Benefit by their sitting, they should dissolve themselves. Harrison, and they of his Sect, were troubled hereat, and made Speeches against it; but Cromwell's Party, of whom the Speaker was one, left the House, and, with the Mace before them, went to Whitehall, and surrender'd their Power to Cromwell, who had given it them. And so he got the Sovereignty by an Act of Parliament; and, within four days after, *viz.* December the 16th, was installed Protector of the three Nations, and took his Oath to observe certain Rules of governing, engrossed in Parchment, and read before him: The Writing was called *the Instrument of Government*.

B. What were the Rules he swore to?

A. One was to call a Parliament every third Year, of which the first was to begin September the 3d following.

B. I believe he was a little superstitious in the Choice of September the 3d, because it was lucky to him in 1630, and 1651, at Dunbar, and Worcester; but he knew not how lucky the same would be to the whole Nation in 1658 at Whitehall.

A. Another was, That no Parliament should be dissolved, till it had sitten five Months; and those Bills that they presented to him, should be passed by him within twenty Days, or else they should pass without him.

A third, That he should have a Council of State of not above twenty-one, nor under thirteen; and that upon the Protector's Death, this Council should meet, and before they parted chuse a new Protector. There were many more besides, but not necessary to be inserted.

B. How went-on the War against the Dutch?

A. The Generals for the English were Blake, and Dean, and Monk; and Van Tromp for the Dutch; between whom was a Battle fought the second of June (which was a Month before the Beginning of this little Parliament) wherein the English had the Victory, and drove the Enemies into their Harbours, but with the Loss of General Dean, slain by a Cannon-shot. This Victory was great enough to make the Dutch send-over Ambassadors into England

The English Fleet gains a Victory over the Dutch Fleet on the 2nd of June, 1653.

England in order to a Treaty ; but in the mean time they prepared, and put to Sea another Fleet, which likewise, in the End of July, was defeated by General Monk, who got now a greater Victory than before : and this made the Dutch descend so far as to buy their Peace with the Payment of the Charge of the War, and with the Acknowledgement, amongst other Articles, that the English had the Right of the Flag. This Peace was concluded in March, being the End of this Year : but not proclaimed till April ; the Money, it seems, being not paid till then.

And another victory over them about the end of July, 1653.

The Dutch sue for Peace, and obtain it in April, 1654.

The Dutch War being now ended, the Protector sent his youngest Son Henry into Ireland, whom also some time after he made Lieutenant there ; and sent Monk Lieutenant-General into Scotland ; to keep those Nations in Obedience. Nothing else worth remembering was this Year at Home : saving the Discovery of a Plot of Royalists (as was said) upon the Life of the Protector, who all this while had Intelligence of the King's Designs from a Traitor in his Courts, who afterwards was taken in the Manner* and killed.

Henry Cromwell is sent-over to Ireland, to keep it in Obedience ; and General Monk is sent into Scotland for the same purpose.

B. How came he into so much Trust with the King ?

A. He was the Son of a Colonel that was slain in the Wars on the late King's Side. Besides, he pretended Employment from the King's loyal and loving Subjects here, to convey to his Majesty such Money as they, from time to time, should send him for his Majesty's use ; and to make this credible, Cromwell himself caused Money to be sent to him.

The following Year, 1654, had nothing of War, but was spent in Civil Ordinances, in appointing of Judges, preventing of Plots, (for Usurpers are jealous) and in executing the King's Friends, and selling their Lands. The third of September, according to the Instrument, the Parliament met, in which there was no House of Lords ; and the House of Commons was made, as formerly, of Knights and Burgesses : but not as formerly, of two Burgesses for a Borough, and two Knights for a County: for Boroughs for the most part had but one Burgess, and some Counties six or seven Knights ; besides there were twenty

A new Parliament meets on the 3d of September, 1654.

* That is, (as I believe), in the Fact, from the words *la main d'oeuvre*, corrupted into *mainovre*, *mainover*, and *manner*.

Members for Scotland, and as many for Ireland. So that now Cromwell had nothing else to do, but to shew his Art of Government upon six Coach-Horses newly presented him; which, being as rebellious as himself, threw him out of the Coach-box, and almost killed him.

B. This Parliament, which had seen how Cromwell had handled the two former, the Long one and the Short one, had surely learned the Wit to behave themselves better to him, than those had done.

A. Yes, especially now that Cromwell, in his Speech at their first Meeting, had expressly forbidden them to meddle, either with the Government by a single Person and Parliament, or with the Militia, or with perpetuating of Parliaments, or taking-away Liberty of Conscience; and told them also, that every Member of the House, before they sat, must take a Recognition of his Power in divers Points. Whereupon, of above 400, there appeared not above 200 at first; though afterwards, some relenting, there sat about 300. Again, just at their sitting-down, he published some Ordinances of his own, bearing Date before their Meeting; that they might see he took his own Acts to be as valid as theirs. But all this could not make them know themselves. They proceeded to the Debate of every Article of the Recognition.

B. They should have debated that before they had taken it.

A. But then they would never have been suffered to sit. Cromwell being informed of their stubborn Proceedings, and out of Hope of any Supply from them, dissolved them.

All that passed beside in this Year was the Exercise of the High Court of Justice upon some Royalists for Plots.

In the Year 1655, the English, to the Number of near 10,000, landed in Hispaniola in hope of the Plunder of the Gold and Silver, whereof they thought there was great abundance in the Town of Santo Domingo; but were well beaten by a few Spaniards; and with the loss of near 1600 Men, went off to Jamaica and possessed it.

This Year also the Royal Party made another Attempt in the West; and proclaimed their King, Charles the

Second;

The Parliament does not comply with the Protector's desires.

The Protector dissolves them. January 22, 1654-55.

He makes war against Spain, and sends a Fleet and Army to attack Hispaniola; but without success. But they afterwards take Jamaica.

Second; but, few Men joining with them, and some of their Party falling-off, they were soon suppressed, and many of the principal Persons executed.

B. In these many Insurrections the Royalists, though they meant well, yet they did but Disservice to the King by their Impatience. What Hope had they to prevail against so great an Army as the Protector had ready; What Cause was there to despair of seeing the King's Business done better by the Dissension and Ambition of the great Commanders in that Army; whereof many had the Favour to be as well esteemed amongst the Soldiers as Cromwell himself?

A. That was somewhat uncertain. The Protector being frustrated of his Hope of Money at *Santo Domingo*, resolved to take from the Royalists the tenth part yearly of their Estates. And to this End chiefly he divided England into eleven Major-Generalships, with Commission to every Major-General to make a Roll of the Names of all suspected Persons of the King's Party, and to receive the tenth part of their Estates within his Precinct; as also to take Caution from them not to act against the State; and to reveal all Plots that should come to their Knowledge, and to make them engage the like for their Servants. They had Commission also to forbid Horse-races and numerous Meetings of People, and to receive and account for this Decimation.

B. By this the Usurper might easily inform himself of the Value of all the Estates in England, and of the Behaviour and Affection of every Person of Quality; which has heretofore been taken for very great Tyranny.

A. The Year 1656, was a Parliament-Year by the Instrument of Government. Between the Beginning of this Year, and the day of the Parliament's sitting, which was September the 17th, these Major-Generals resided in several Provinces, behaving themselves most tyrannically. Amongst other of their Tyrannies was the over-awing of Elections, and making themselves, and whom they pleased, to be returned Members for the Parliament, which was also thought to have been a part of Cromwell's Design in their Constitution: for he had need of a *giving* Parliament, having lately, upon a Peace made with the French, drawn upon himself a War with Spain.

This

The Protector appoints a Number of Major-Generals to prevent Insurrections against his Government. In October, 1755.

These Major-Generals behave tyrannically.

Captain Stainer takes two very rich Spanish ships near Cadiz.

The Parliament punishes James Naylor, a religious madman, who pretended to be Jesus Christ.

This Year it was that Captain Stainer set upon the Spanish Plate-fleet, being eight in Number, near Cadiz, whereof he sunk two and took two, there being in one of them Two Millions of Pieces of Eight, which amounts to 400,000*l.* Sterling.

This Year also it was that James Naylor appeared at Bristol, and would be taken for Jesus Christ. He wore his Beard forked, and his Hair composed to the likeness of that in the *Volto Santo*; and being questioned, would sometime answer, — *Thou sayest it.* He had also his Disciples, that would go by his Horse-side, to the Mid-leg in Dirt. Being sent for by the Parliament, he was sentenced to stand on the Pillory, to have his Tongue bored-through, and to be marked in the Fore-head with the Letter *B.* for Blasphemy, and to remain in Bridewell. Lambert, a great favourite of the Army, endeavoured to save him, partly because he had been his Soldier, and partly to curry Favour with the Sectaries of the Army; for he was now no more in the Protector's Favour, but meditating how he might succeed him in his Power.

About two years before this, there appeared in Cornwall a Prophetess, much famed for her Dreams and Visions, and hearkened-to by many, whereof some were eminent Officers. But, she and some of her Accomplices being imprisoned, we heard no more of her.

B. I have heard of another, one Lilly, that prophesied all the Time of the long Parliament. What did they do to him?

A. His Prophecies were of another kind; he was a Writer of Almanacks, and a Pretender to a pretended Art of Judicial Astrology; a mere Cozener to get maintenance from a Multitude of ignorant People. And, no doubt, he would have been called in question, if his Prophecies had been any way disadvantageous to that Parliament.

B. I understand not how the Dreams and Prognostications of Madmen (for such I take to be all those that foretell future Contingencies) can be of any great Disadvantage to the Commonwealth.

A. Yes, yes: Know, there is nothing that renders human

human Counsels difficult, but the Uncertainty of future Time, nor that so well directs Men in their Deliberations, as the Foresight of the Sequels of their Actions; Prophecy being many times the principal cause of the arrival of the event foretold. If upon some Prediction the People should have been made confident, that Oliver Cromwell and his Army should be, upon a Day to come, utterly defeated, would not every one have endeavoured to assist, and to deserve well of the Party that should give him that defeat? Upon this Account it was, that Fortune-tellers and Astrologers were so often banished out of Rome.

The last memorable thing of this year was a Motion made by a Member of the House, an Alderman of London, that the Protector might be petitioned and advised by the House to leave the Title of Protector, and take upon him that of King.

The Parliament petitions the Protector to take upon him the title of King. April 9. 1657.

B. That was indeed a bold motion, and which would, if prosperous, have put an End to many Mens Ambition, and to the Licentiousness of the whole Army. I think the Motion was made on purpose to ruin both the Protector himself, and his ambitious Officers.

A. It may be so. In the Year 1657, the first Thing the Parliament did was the drawing-up of this Petition to the Protector, to take upon him the Government of the three Nations, with the Title of *King*. As of other Parliaments, so of this, the greatest Part had been either kept out of the House by Force, or else themselves had forborn to sit, and became guilty of setting-up this King Oliver. But those few that sat presented their Petition to the Protector, April the ninth, in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, where Sir Thomas Widdrington, the Speaker, used the first arguments, and the Protector desired some Time to seek God, the Business being weighty. The next Day they sent a Committee to him to receive his Answer: which Answer being not very clear, they pressed him again for a Resolution: to which he made answer in a long Speech, that ended in a peremptory Refusal; and so, retaining still the Title of Protector, he took upon him the Government according to certain articles contain'd in the said Petition.

But the Protector refuses to comply with their request. May 8, 1657.

B.

B. What made him refuse the Title of King?

A. Because he durst not take it at that Time; the Army, (being addicted to their great Officers, and amongst their great Officers many hoping to succeed him, and the Succession having been promised to Major-General Lambert,) would have mutiny'd against him. He was therefore forced to stay for a more propitious Conjunction.

B. What were those Articles?

A. The most important of them were, first, That he would exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the Title of Protector, and govern the same according to the said Petition and Advice; and that he would, in his Life-time, name his Successor.

B. I believe the Scots, when they first rebell'd, never thought of being governed absolutely, as they were by Oliver Cromwell.

A. Secondly, That he should call a Parliament every three Years at farthest. Thirdly, That those Persons which were legally chosen Members, should not be secluded without Consent of the House. (In allowing this Clause the Protector observed not, that the secluded Members of the same Parliament are thereby re-admitted.) Fourthly, The Members were qualify'd. Fifthly, The Power of the other House was defin'd. Sixthly, That no Law should be made but by Act of Parliament. Seventhly, That a constant yearly Revenue of a Million of Pounds, should be settled for the Maintenance of the Army and Navy; and 300,000*l.* for the Support of the Government, besides other temporary Supplies, as the House of Commons should think fit. Eighthly, That all the Officers of State should be chosen by the Parliament. Ninthly, That the Protector should encourage the Ministry. Lastly, That he should cause a Profession of Religion to be agreed-on, and published. There are divers others of less Importance.

Having signed the Articles, he was presently, with great Ceremony, installed anew.

B. What needed that, seeing that he was still but Protector?

A. But the Articles of this Petition were not all the same with those of his former Instrument. For now there was

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The principal articles of the new Instrument of Government for the Protector's direction, prepared by this Parliament, which was called *The Humble Petition and Advice*.

to be another House; and, whereas, before, his Council was to name his Successor, he had Power now to do it himself; so that he was an absolute Monarch, and might leave the Succession to his Son, if he would, and successively, or transfer it to whom he pleased.

The Ceremony being ended, the Parliament adjourned to the 20th of January following: and then the other House also sat with their Fellows.

The House of Commons being now full, took little notice of the other House, (wherein there were not, of sixty Persons, above nine Lords,) but fell to questioning all that their Fellows had done, during the Time of their Seclusion; whence would have followed the Avoidance of the Power newly placed in the Protector. Therefore going to the House he made a Speech to them, ending in these Words; *By the living God I must, and do, dissolve you.*

Disputes arise between the Protector and the Parliament; and the Protector dissolves it in displeasure. February 4, 1657-58.

In this year the English gave the Spaniard another great Blow at *Santa Cruz*, not much less than that they had given him the year before at Cadiz.

About the time of the Dissolution of this Parliament, the Royalists had another Design against the Protector, which was, to make an Insurrection in England, the King being in Flanders, ready to second them with an Army thence. But this was also discovered by Treachery, and came to nothing, but the Ruin of those that were engaged in it; whereof many, in the Beginning of the next Year, were by a High Court of Justice imprison'd, and some executed.

This Year also was Major General Lambert put out of all Employments; a Man second to none but Oliver in the Favour of the Army. But, because he expected, by that Favour, or by Promise from the Protector, to be his Successor in the Supreme Power, it would have been dangerous to let him have Command in the Army; the Protector having designed for his Successor his eldest Son Richard.

In the Year 1658, September the third, the Protector died at Whitehall; having, ever since his last Establishment, been perplexed with Fear of being kill'd by some desperate Attempt of the Royalists.

The Death of the Protector. September 3, 1658.

Being importuned in his Sickness by his Privy-Council to name his Successor, he nam'd his Son Richard; who, (encouraged

He appointed his eldest son, Richard Cromwell, to succeed

him as Protector, who was generally acknowledged as his successor.

(encouraged thereunto, not by his own Ambition, but by Fleetwood, Desborough, Thurloe, and others of his Council,) was content to take it upon him. And presently Addresses were made to him from the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland. His first Business was the chargeable and splendid Funeral of his Father

Thus was Richard Cromwell seated in the Imperial Throne of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Successor to his Father, lifted-up to it by the Officers of the Army then in Town, and congratulated by all the Parts of the Army throughout the three Nations : scarce any Garrison omitting their particular Addresses to him.

B. Seeing the Army approved of him, how came he so soon cast off?

A. The Army was inconstant, he himself irresolute, and without any military Glory. And, although the two principal Officers * had a near Relation to him, yet neither of them, but Lambert, was the great Favourite of the Army; and, by courting Fleetwood to take upon him the Protectorship, and by tampering with the Soldiers, he had gotten again to be a Colonel. He and the rest of the Officers had a Council at Wallingford-house, (where Fleetwood dwelt) for the dispossessing of Richard, though they had not yet considered how the Nations should be governed afterwards : for from the Beginning of the Rebellion, the Method of Ambition was constantly this, first to destroy, and then to consider what they should set-up.

B. Could not the Protector, who kept his Court at Whitehall, discover what the Business of the Officers was at Wallingford-house so near him?

A. Yes; he was by divers of his Friends inform'd of it, and counsell'd by some of them, (who would have done it,) to kill the chief of them : but he had not Courage enough to give them such a Commission. He took therefore the Counsel of some milder Persons, which was to call a Parliament. Whereupon Writs were presently

* Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who had married his sister, Mrs. Bridget Ireton, the widow of Commissary-General Ireton, and Major-General Desborough, who had married a sister of his father Oliver Cromwell, the late Protector.

sent to those that were in the last Parliament of the other House, and other Writs to the Sheriffs for the Election of Knights and Burgesses, to assemble on the 27th of January following. Elections were made according to the ancient Manner; and a House of Commons now of the right English Temper, and about 400 in Number, including twenty for Scotland, and as many for Ireland, being met, they take themselves, without the Protector and other House, to be a Parliament, and to have the supreme Power of the three Nations.

The new Protector, Richard Cromwell, calls a Parliament, which meets at Westminster on the 27th of January, 1658-59.

For the first Business, they intended the Power of that other House: but because the Protector had recommended to them, for their first Business, an Act (already drawn-up) for the Recognition of his Protectoral Power, they began with that; and voted, (after a Fortnight's Deliberation) that an Act should be made, whereof this Act of Recognition should be part, and that another part should be for the bounding of the Protector's Power, and for the securing the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subject; and that all should pass together.

The Parliament resolves to pass an Act for recognizing the right of Richard Cromwell to the Office of Protector.

B. Why did these Men obey the Protector at first, in meeting upon his only Summons? Was not that as full a Recognition of his Power as was needful? Why, by this Example, did they teach the People that he was to be obeyed, and then, by putting Laws upon him, teach them the contrary? Was it not the Protector that made the Parliament?—Why did they not acknowledge their Maker?

A. I believe it is the Desire of most Men to bear Rule: but few of them know what Title one has to it more than another, besides the Right of the Sword.

B. If they acknowledged the Right of the Sword, they were neither just, nor wise to oppose the present Government, set-up and approved by all the Forces of the three Kingdoms. The Principles of this House of Commons were, no doubt, the very same with theirs that began the Rebellion; and would, if they could have raised a sufficient Army, have done the same against the Protector; and the General of their Army would, in like Manner, have reduced them to a Rump: for they that keep an army,

and cannot master it, must be subject to it as much as he that keeps a Lion in his House. The Temper of all the Parliaments since the Time of Queen Elizabeth, has been the same with the Temper of this Parliament; and will always be such, as long as Presbyterians and Men of democratical Principles have the like Influence upon the Elections.

A. After they resolved concerning the other House; that during this Parliament they would transact with it, but without intrenching upon the Right of the Peers, to have Writs sent to them in all future Parliaments. These Votes being passed, they proceed to another, wherein they assume to themselves the Power of the Militia. Also to shew their supreme Power, they delivered out of Prison some of those that had been (they said) illegally committed by the former Protector. Other Points concerning Civil Rights, and concerning Religion, very pleasing to the People, were now also under their Consideration. So that in the End of this Year, the Protector was no less jealous of the Parliament than of the Council of Officers at Wallingford-house.

Dissensions arise between three powerful parties, that of the Army, that of the Protector, and that of the Parliament.

B. Thus it is, when ignorant Men will undertake Reformation. Here are three Parties, the Protector, the Parliament, and the Army. The Protector against the Parliament and Army, the Parliament against the Army and Protector, and the Army against the Protector and Parliament.

A. In the Beginning of 1659, the Parliament passed divers other Acts; one was to forbid the Meetings in Council of the Army-Officers without Order from the Protector, and both Houses. Another, That no Man shall have any Command or Trust in the Army, who did not first under his Hand engage himself never to interrupt any of the Members, but that they might freely meet and debate in the House. And, to please the Soldiers, they voted to take presently into their Consideration the Means of paying them their Arrears. But whilst they were considering this, the Protector (according to the first of those Acts) forbade the Meeting of Officers at Wallingford-house. This made the Government, (which, by the Disagreement of

of the Protector and the Army, was already loose,) to fall to Pieces. For the Officers from Wallingford-house, with Soldiers enough, came-over to Whitehall, and brought with them a Commission ready-drawn (giving Power to Desborough to dissolve the Parliament) for the Protector to sign; which also, his Heart and his Party failing him, he signed. The Parliament nevertheless continued sitting, but at the end of the Week, the House adjourned till the Monday after, being April the 25th. At their coming on Monday Morning, they found the Door of the House shut-up, and the Passages to it filled with Soldiers, who plainly told them they must sit no longer. Richard's Authority, and Business in Town, being thus at an End, he retired into the Country, where, within a few Days (upon Promise of the Payment of his Debts, which his Father's Funeral had made great) he signed a Resignation of his Protectorship.

The Protector, at the command of the Army, dissolves the Parliament. In April, 1659.

And, soon after, resigns the Office of Protector.

B. To whom?

A. To Nobody. But after ten Days Cessation of the Sovereign Power, some of the Rumpers that were in Town, together with the old Speaker Mr. William Lenthall, resolved amongst themselves, and with Lambert, Haslerig, and other Officers, (who were also Rumpers), in all forty-two, to go into the House, which they did, and were, by the Army, declared to be the Parliament.

The Army restores the Rump-Parliament to their former Authority. May 7, 1659.

There were also in Westminster-hall at that time, about their private Business, some few of those whom the Army had secluded in 1648, and who were called *the secluded Members*. These, knowing themselves to have been elected by the same Authority, and to have the same Right to it, attempted to get into the House, but were kept-out by the Soldiers. The first Vote of the Rump re-seated was; That such Persons as, having been heretofore Members of this Parliament, have not sitten in this Parliament since the Year 1648, shall not sit in this House, till farther Order of the Parliament; and thus the Rump recovered their Authority, May the 7th, 1659, which they lost in April, 1653.

B. Seeing there have been so many Shiftings of the supreme Authority, I pray you, for Memory's sake, repeat them briefly in Times and Order.

2 T 2

A.

A. First; From 1640 to 1648, when the King was murdered, the Sovereignty was disputed between King Charles the first and the Presbyterian Parliament. Secondly, from 1648, to 1653, the Power was in that Part of the Parliament which voted the Trial of the King, and declared themselves, without King or House of Lords, to have the supreme Authority of England and Ireland. For there were in the Long Parliament two Factions, the Presbyterian and the Independent; the former whereof sought only the Subjection of the King, not his Destruction directly; the latter sought directly his Destruction, and this part is that which was called the Rump. Thirdly, from April the 20th to July the 4th, the supreme Power was in the Hands of a Council of State constituted by Cromwell. Fourthly, from July the 4th to December the 12th, of the same Year, it was in the Hands of Men called unto it by Cromwell, whom he termed Men of Fidelity and Integrity, and made them a Parliament, which was called, in contempt of one of the Members, *Barebone's Parliament*. Fifthly, from December the 12th, 1653, to September the 3d, 1658, it was in the Hands of Oliver Cromwell, with the Title of Protector. Sixthly, from September the 3d, 1658, to April the 25th, 1659, Richard Cromwell had it as Successor to his Father. Seventhly, from April the 25th, 1659, to May 7th, of the same Year, it was no where. Eighthly, from May the 7th, 1659, the Rump which was turned out of Doors in 1653, recovered it again, and shall lose it again to a Committee of Safety, and again recover it, and again lose it to the right Owner.

B. By whom, and by what Art, came the Rump to be turned-out the second time?

A. One would think them safe enough; the Army in Scotland, which, when it was in London, had helped Oliver to put-down the Rump, submitted now, begg'd Pardon, and promised Obedience. The Soldiers in Town had their Pay mended, and the Commanders every where took the old Engagement, whereby they had acknowledged their Authority heretofore. They also received their Commissions in the House itself from the Speaker, who
was

Precautions taken by the Rump-Parliament for the preservation of their newly-restored authority.

was Generalissimo. Fleetwood was made Lieutenant-General with such, and so many, Limitations, as were thought necessary by the Rump, that remembered how they had been served by the General, Oliver Cromwell. Also Henry Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, having resigned his Commission by Command, returned into England.

But Lambert, to whom (as was said) Oliver had promised the Succession, and who (as well as the Rump) knew the Way to the Protectorship, by Oliver's own Foot-steps, was resolved to proceed in it, upon the first Opportunity : and this Opportunity presented itself very soon after.

Besides some Plots of Royalists, (whom, after the old Fashion, they again persecuted,) there was an Insurrection made against them by Presbyterians in Cheshire, headed by Sir George Booth, one of the secluded Members; they were in Number about 3000, and their Pretence was to obtain a free Parliament. There was a great Talk of another Rising, or Endeavour to rise, in Devonshire and Cornwall, at the same time. To suppress Sir George Booth, the Rump sent-down more than a sufficient Army under Lambert, which quickly defeated the Cheshire Party, and recovered Chester, Liverpool, and all the other Places they had seized. Divers also of their Commanders, in and after the Battle, were taken Prisoners, whereof Sir George Booth himself was one.

An Insurrection in Cheshire in favour of the secluded Members, headed by Sir George Booth

It is soon defeated by a detachment of the Army commanded by General Lambert.

This Exploit done, Lambert, before his Return, caressed his Soldiers with an Entertainment at his own House in Yorkshire, and got their Consent to a Petition to be made to the House, that a General might be set-up in the Army, it being unfit, as they alledged, that the Army should be judged by any Power extrinsic to itself.

General Lambert excites the Army to oppose the authority of the Parliament.

B. I do not see that Unfitness.

A. Nor I. But it was (as I have heard) an Axiom of Sir Henry Vane's. But it so much displeased the Rump, that they voted, That the having of more Generals in the Army than were already settled, was unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the Commonwealth.

B. This was not Oliver's Method. For, though this Cheshire Victory had been as glorious as that of Oliver at Dunbar, yet it was not that Victory that made Oliver

General, but the Resignation of that great Office by Lord Fairfax, and the Proffer of it to Cromwell by the Parliament.

A. But Lambert thought so well of himself, as to expect it : therefore, at his Return to London, he and other Officers, assembling at Wallingford-house, drew their Petition into Form, and called it a Representation, wherein the chief Point was to have a General ; but many others of less Importance were added ; and this they represented to the House October the 4th, by Major General Desborough : and this so far forth awed them, as to teach them so much good Manners as to promise to take it presently into Debate. Which they did ; and October the 12th, having recovered their Spirits, voted ; That the Commissions of Lambert, Desborough, and others of the Council at Wallingford-house, should be void. *Item*, That the Army should be governed by a Commission to Fleetwood, Monk, Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton, till February the 12th following. And to make this good against the Force they expected from Lambert, they ordered Haslerig and Morley to issue Warrants to such Officers as they could trust, to bring their Soldiers next Morning into Westminster, which was done somewhat too late ; for Lambert had first brought his Soldiers thither, and beset the House, and turned back the Speaker, who was then coming to it : but Haslerig's Forces marching about St. James's Park-wall, came into St. Margaret's Church-yard ; and so both Parties looked all Day one upon another like Enemies, but offered not to fight, whereby the Rump was put out of possession of the House ; and the Officers continued their Meeting, as before, at Wallingford-house.

There they chose from among themselves, with some few of the City, a Committee, which they called a Committee of Safety ; whereof the Chief were Lambert and Vane, who, with the Advice of a General Council of Officers, had Power to call Delinquents to Trial ; to suppress Rebellions ; to treat with foreign States, &c. You see now the Rump cut-off, and the supreme Power, which is charged with *Salus Populi*, transferred to a Council of Officers. And yet Lambert hopes for it in
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General Lambert and other turbulent Officers of the Army again interrupt the sitting of the Parliament, October 13, 1659.

They set-up a new temporary Government called a Committee of Safety.

the End. But one of their Limitations was ; That they should within six Weeks present to the Army a new Model of the Government ; if they had done so, do you think they would have preferred Lambert, or any other, to the supreme Authority therein, rather than themselves ?

B. I think not. When the Rump had put into Commission (amongst a few others) for the Government of the Army, that is to say, for the Government of the three Nations, General Monk, already Commander in Chief of the Army in Scotland, and who had done much greater Things in this War, than Lambert ; how durst they leave him out of this Committee of Safety ? or how could Lambert think that General Monk would forgive it, and not endeavour to fasten the Rump again ?

A. They thought not of him : his Gallantry had been shewn on remote Stages, Ireland and Scotland. His Ambition had not appeared here in their Contentions for the Government ; but he had complied both with Richard and the Rump. After General Monk had signified by Letter his Dislike of the Proceedings of Lambert and his Fellows, they were much surprised, and began to think him more considerable than they had done ; but it was too late.

General Monk dis-approves the violent proceedings of the Army, and is faithful to the Parliament.

B. Why ? His Army was too small for so great an Enterprize.

A. The General knew very well his own, and their Forces ; both what they were then, and how they might be augmented, and what generally both the City and the Country wished-for, which was the Restitution of the King : which to bring-about there needed no more, but to come with his Army, (though not very great,) to London : to the doing whereof there was no Obstacle but the Army with Lambert. What could he do in this Case ? If he had declared presently for the King, or for a Free-Parliament, all the Armies in England would have joined against him, and, assuming the Title of a Parliament, would have furnished themselves with Money.

General Monk, after he had thus quarrelled, by his Letter, with the Council of Officers, secured, first, those Officers of his own Army, who were Anabaptists, and therefore not to be trusted, and put others into their Places ; and then,

General Monk
marches with his
Army to Berwick.

Lambert and his par-
tizans offer to treat
with Monk.

A part of the Army
at Portsmouth re-
solves to support the
Parliament.

drawing his Forces together, marched to Berwick. Being there, he indicted a Convention of the Scots, of whom he desired that they would take Order for the Security of that Nation in his Absence, and raise some Maintenance for his Army in their March. The Convention promised for the Security of the Nation their best Endeavours, and raised him a Sum of Money, not great, but enough for his Purpose, excusing themselves upon their present Wants. On the other Side, the Committee of Safety, with the greatest and best part of their Army, sent Lambert to oppose him; but at the same time, by divers Messages and Mediators, urged him to a Treaty; which he consented-to, and sent three Officers to London, to treat with as many of theirs. These six suddenly concluded, without Power from the General, upon these Articles; That the King be excluded; a free State settled; the Ministry and Universities encouraged, with divers others. Which the General liked not, and imprisoned one of his Commissioners for exceeding his Commission. Whereupon another Treaty was agreed-on to be managed by five Commissioners on each side. But, whilst these Treaties were in hand, Haslerig, a Member of the Rump, seized on Portsmouth; and the Soldiers sent by the Committee of Safety to reduce it, instead of doing so, enter'd into the Town, and joined with Haslerig. Secondly, The City renewed their Tumults for a free Parliament. Thirdly, the Lord Fairfax, a Member also of the Rump, and greatly favour'd in Yorkshire, was raising Forces there behind Lambert, who (being now between two Armies, both of which were his Enemies,) would gladly have fought with the General. Fourthly, there came News that Devonshire and Cornwall were listing of Soldiers. Lastly, Lambert's Army (wanting Money, and sure they should not be furnished from the Council of Officers, which had neither Authority, nor Strength, to levy Money) grew discontented, and (for their free Quarter) were odious to the Northern Countries.

B. I wonder why the Scots were so ready to furnish General Monk with Money; for they were no Friends to the Rump?

A. I know not; but I believe the Scots would have parted

parted with a greater Sum, rather than the English should not have gone together by the Ears amongst themselves. The Council of Officers being now beset with so many Enemies, produced speedily their Model of Government, which was to have a free-Parliament, which should meet December the 15th; but with such Qualifications of no King, no House of Lords, as made the City more angry than before. To send Soldiers into the West, to suppress those that were rising there, they durst not, for fear of the City; nor could they raise any other Army for want of Money. There remained nothing but to break-up their Meetings, and, quitting Wallingford-house, to shift for themselves.

Lambert's Army deserts him, and the Parliament is restored to its authority. December 26, 1659.

This coming to the Knowledge of their Army in the North, they deserted Lambert; and the Rump, on the 26th of December, again took possession of the House of Commons.

B. Seeing the Rump was now re-seated, the Business pretended by General Monk for his marching to London was at an end.

A. The Rump, though seated, was not well-settled, but (in the midst of so many Tumults for a free Parliament) had as much need of the General's coming-up now, as before. He therefore sent them Word, that, because he thought them not yet secure enough, he would come-up to London with his Army; which they not only accepted, but also intreated him to do so, and voted him for his Services 1000*l.* a-Year.

General Monk marches to London with his Army.

The General marching towards London, the Country every where petitioned him for a free-Parliament. The Rump, to make Room in London for his Army, dislodged their own. The General, for all that, had not let fall a Word in-all this Time, that could be taken for a Declaration of his final Design.

B. How did the Rump revenge themselves on Lambert?

A. They never troubled him: nor do I know any Cause of so gentle Dealing with him. But certainly Lambert was the ablest of any Officer they had, to do them Service, when they should have means, and need, to employ him. After the General was come to London, the Rump sent to the City for their Part of a Tax of 100,000*l.* a Month,
for

The City of London
wishes to have a full
and free Parliament.

for six Months, according to an Act which the Rump had made formerly, before their Disseizin by a Committee of Safety. But the City, who were adverse to the Rump, and keen upon a Free-Parliament, could not be brought to give their Money to their Enemies, and to Purposes repugnant to their own. Hereupon the Rump sent Order to the General to break-down the City-Gates and their Port-cullices, and, and to imprison certain obstinate Citizens. This he performed, and it was the last Service he did them.

About this Time the Commission, by which General Monk, with others, had the Government of the Army put into their hands by the Rump, (before the Usurpation of the Council of Officers,) came to expire ; and the present Rump renewed it.

B. He was thereby the sixth Part of the General of the whole Forces of the Commonwealth. If I had been as the Rump, he should have been sole General. In such Cases as this, there cannot be a greater Vice than pinching. Ambition should be liberal.

A. After the pulling-down of the City-Gates, the General sent a Letter to the Rump, to let them know that that Service was much against his Nature, and to put them in mind how well the City had served the Parliament throughout the whole War.

B. That was very true. For without the aid of the City the Parliament could never have made the War, nor the Rump ever have murdered the King.

A. The Rump considered not the Merit of the City, nor the good Nature of the General. They were busy. They were giving-out Commissions ; making of Acts for Abjuration of the King and his Line, and for the old Engagement, and conferring with the City to get Money. The General also desired to hear Conference between some of the Rump, and some of the secluded Members, concerning the Justice of their Seclusion, and of the Hurt that could follow from their Re-admission. And it was granted. And, after long Conference, the General, finding the Rump's Pretences unreasonable and ambitious, declared himself, with the City, for a Free-Parliament, and came to

Westminster

Westminster with the secluded Members, (whom he had appointed to meet and stay for him at Whitehall) and replaced them in the House amongst the Rumpers; so that now the same Cattle that were in the House of Commons in 1640, (except those that were dead, and those that went from them to the late King at Oxford) are all there again.

General Monk restores the secluded Members to their seats in the Parliament. In February, 1659-60.

B. But this (methinks) was no good Service to the King, unless they had learnt better Principles.

A. They had learnt nothing. The major Part was now again Presbyterian. 'Tis true they were so grateful to General Monk, as to make him General of all the Forces in the three Nations. They did well also to make void the Engagement; but it was because those Acts were made to the Prejudice of their Party. But they recalled none of their own rebellious Ordinances, nor did any thing in order to the Good of the present King: but on the contrary they declared by a Vote, that the late King began the War against his two Houses.

B. The two Houses considered as two Persons, were they not two of the King's Subjects? If a King raise an Army against his Subject, is it lawful for that Subject to resist with Force, when (as in this case) he might have had Peace upon his Submission?

A. They knew they had acted vilely and sottishly; but, because they had always pretended to greater than ordinary Wisdom and Godliness, they were loth to confess it. The Presbyterians now saw their Time to make a Confession of their Faith, and presented it to the House of Commons, to shew they had not changed their Principles, which (after six Readings in the House) was voted to be printed, and once a Year to be read publickly in every Church.

B. I say again, this re-establishing of the long Parliament was no good Service to the King.

A. Have a little Patience. They were re-established with two Conditions. One to determine their sitting before the End of March; another to send-out Writs before their rising for new Elections.

B. That qualifies.

The Parliament, after the re-admission of the secluded Members, orders a new Parliament to be elected, to meet on the 25th of April, 1660.

A. That

The new Parliament votes the immediate return of the eldest son of the late King, to take possession of his father's Crown. May, 1660.

A. That brought-in the King; for few of this Long Parliament (the Country having felt the Smart of their former Service) could get themselves chosen again. This New Parliament began to sit April 25th, 1660. How soon these called-in the King; with what Joy and Triumph he was received; how earnestly his Majesty pressed the Parliament for the Act of Oblivion, and how few were excepted out of it, you know as well as I.

B. But I have not yet observed in the Presbyterians any Oblivion of their former Principles. We are but returned to the State we were in at the Beginning of the Sedition.

A. Not so: for before that Time, though the Kings of England had the Right of the Militia in virtue of the Sovereignty, and without Dispute, and without any particular Act of Parliament directly to that Purpose; yet now, after this bloody Dispute, the next (which is the present) Parliament, in proper and express Terms, hath declared the same to be the Right of the King only, without either of his Houses of Parliament; which Act is more instructive to the People, than any Arguments drawn from the Title of Sovereign, and consequently fitter to disarm the Ambition of all seditious Haranguers for the Time to come.

B. I pray God it prove so. Howsoever, I must confess, that this Parliament has done all that a Parliament can do for the security of our Peace: which I think also would be enough, if Preachers would take Heed of instilling evil Principles into their Auditory. I have seen in this Revolution a circular Motion of the Sovereign Power, through two Usurpers, from the late King to this his Son: for (leaving-out the Power of the Council of Officers, which was but temporary, and no otherwise owned by them, but in Trust) it moved from King Charles the First to the Long Parliament, from thence to the Rump, from the Rump to Oliver Cromwell, and then back again from Richard Cromwell to the Rump, thence to the Long Parliament, and thence to King Charles the Second; where long may it remain!

A. Amen!

A. Amen ! And may he have, as often as there shall be need, such a General !

B. You have told me little of the General till now in the End ; but truly, I think, the bringing of his little Army intirely out of Scotland, up to London, was the est Stratagem that is extant in History.

THE END.

REMARKS

REMARKS
ON
SOME PARTICULAR PASSAGES
IN THE
PRECEDING TRACT
OF
MR. HOBBS,

WHICH APPEAR TO THE PRESENT EDITOR TO CONTAIN
ERRONEOUS OPINIONS.

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REMARKS

ON

Some Passages in the foregoing Tract

OF

MR THOMAS HOBBS, of *Malmesbury*,

ENTITLED

BEHEMOTH,

OR

THE HISTORY OF THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WARS OF
ENGLAND ;

*Which seem to be grounded on erroneous Opinions concerning
Civil Government, and the Constitution of the Monarchy
of England.*

As Mr. Hobbes was a man of great abilities and learning, and well acquainted with the History and Forms of Government of many different Nations, both ancient and modern ; and was also, as I believe, a very honest man, and a great Lover of truth ;—and, as he lived through the two reigns of King James the first, and King Charles the first, and through the Interregnum after King Charles's death, to the Restoration of King Charles the second, and through the next following eighteen years ;—and, as he was, for the most part, resident in England during the ten years immediately preceeding

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the Civil War, and had conversed with several of the most eminent persons who afterwards were engaged in it, both on the King's side and that of the Parliament;—I thought he was a writer singularly fit to be consulted and cited as a witness of the several events and transactions in those preceeding years of King Charles's reign, which might justly be considered as the causes of that unhappy Contest; and I therefore resolved to re-print this work of his, after the several foregoing tracts relating to the same Subject; which were written by other respectable persons who lived at the time of the events which they describe, and of whom some had been themselves concerned in producing them.

Nevertheless, as I differ very widely from Mr. Hobbes, in my opinion of the Merits of the two contending Parties, and consider the King as having been the unjust Aggressor in it, and the Parliament as having been the chosen Leaders and Directors of a great part of the People in defending their just and antient rights and privileges against the King's repeated and long-continued Attempts, even from the beginning of his reign, to make himself an *Absolute Monarch* over them, I think it will be proper, in order to account for this wide difference of opinion

nion on the subject, to set-forth fully and distinctly some of the principal opinions adopted by Mr. Hobbes, on the subject of Civil Government; which, if they were all true, would afford just grounds for several sharp and plausible censures, which, in the course of the foregoing tract, he passes on the conduct of this celebrated Parliament; but which, if they are not all true, would make those censures appear weak and unjust. Three of those opinions of Mr. Hobbes on the subject of Civil Government, are as follows.

His first Opinion is, That all Civil Governments are founded on the consent of the People; who enter into them for their common benefit, in the protection of their persons and property against Violence and Fraud, and Injuries of all kinds. And for this purpose they may make Laws, and create Magistrates to execute them, who are authorised to employ the whole power of the State in preventing the People from committing injuries against each other, and in punishing, according to the Laws established for that purpose, the persons who commit them. And in these civil Societies, so created by common consent, the whole Power of the State may (if they so determine) be vested in one man, without any

Council, or Assembly, of Old men, or of Rich men, or of Deputies, or Representatives chosen by the Inhabitants of different districts of the Country, to controul him ; in which case, the man, so chosen for their Governour, would be an *Absolute King, or Monarch* : or it may be vested in a select Council of Old men, or of Rich men, or in a Council elected from time to time by the People, or in two such Councils ; in which case the Society would be a *Republick, or Commonwealth* ; or, it may be vested in one, or in two, such Councils, together with a higher Magistrate, whose consent should be necessary to every new Law, or important act of State, in order to it's being valid, and carried into execution ; in which case the Government would be a *Mixt, or Limited, Monarchy*.

To this first opinion of Mr. Hobbes, I readily agree.—

The second Opinion of Mr. Hobbes concerning Civil Government, is this ; to wit, “ That an *Absolute Monarchy*, or one in which, by the general consent of the People, the whole Power of the State, both executive and Legislative, is placed in the hands of one Man, without any controul from any Senate, or Council, or Popular Assembly,

Assembly, whatsoever, is the best form of Government for the happiness of the whole People, that can be adopted."

Now to this opinion I can by no means assent. For it seems to me a very strange opinion for any Englishman, (or, indeed, for any inhabitant of any other Country, that has not been for many centuries subjected to such a form of Government,) and especially for a man of so excellent and cultivated an Understanding as Mr. Hobbes was, to have entertained for a single moment. For, if it was a true, or well-grounded, Opinion, it would follow, that the Government of the Emperor of Morocco, or that of the Roman Emperor *Nero*, (who could send an order to any of his Subjects against whom he had taken a dislike, to put himself to death within a certain number of days, unless he chose to be put to a more painful death by some Soldiers of his Prætorian Guards, if he failed to do so; and who did send two such orders, the one to the famous Philosopher *Seneca*, who had, some years before, been his Præceptor; and the other to *Thrasea Pætus*, one of the most virtuous and esteemed citizens of Rome; both which Orders were obeyed;) was the best and happiest form of Government under which men could live. If therefore Mr. Hobbes did

really think this form of Government to be the best possible form for the happiness of the People living under it, that can be adopted (which he frequently declares in the course of the foregoing tract that he did;) I can only say that I differ greatly from him in my taste for Civil Governments; and so, I believe, do most of the Inhabitants of England at the present day; and so likewise did the Englishmen of his time, in the reign of King Charles the first, as he frequently declares and laments.

The third Opinion of Mr. Hobbes upon this subject of civil Government is this, to wit "That the Government of England, ever since the Norman conquest, and even since the Union of the seven separate Saxon Kingdoms of England into one Monarchy, in the reign of King Egbert, or of his grandson, King Alfred, has always been an *Absolute Monarchy*; in which the Kings (though they did, indeed, frequently assemble their great Councils, or Parliaments, and consulted them about the great measures of State; such as making new Laws, or amending old ones, raising military Forces by Land or Sea, and imposing new taxes on their subjects;) yet were not bound to follow their advice, but had a right to perform
all

all those high acts of Government by their own single authority, without the consent, and in opposition to the advice, of the said Assemblies."

Now this third Opinion of Mr. Hobbes appears to me to be still more strange and void of foundation, than his foregoing, or second opinion "concerning the Excellence of an *Absolute Monarchy* above every other form of Government, from its greater tendency to promote the happiness of the people who live under it." For, in support of that second opinion, it might be alledged by Mr. Hobbes, and the few other persons who might agree with him in adopting it, "That in all sorts of Governments (whether Absolute Monarchies, or limited Monarchies, or Republicks of any form,) it must be expected, from the frailty of human nature, that some abuses of Power would sometimes take place, by which some persons in the Society would be unjustly oppressed: but that the number of sufferers from such abuses of Power would, probably, be much smaller in an Absolute Monarchy, than in a Limited Monarchy or a Republick; in which latter Governments those abuses would often produce Civil Wars, attended with a great slaughter of the Citizens

or Subjects, on both sides ; as Mr. Hobbes had seen to have been the case in the Civil War of England." But with respect to this third opinion of Mr. Hobbes, which related only to the nature of the Government under which the people of England had lived during the six or seven centuries preceeding the Civil War, *that* was a mere question of fact, to which this plausible argument in favour of Absolute Monarchy has no relation, and which can only be determined, like other historical facts, by the testimony of historians who lived in England, or in the neighbouring countries, during those centuries, and by the records of Parliaments, and the Statutes, or Acts of Parliament, passed by the Kings of England conjointly with their Parliaments, and in consequence of the requests made to them by their Parliaments, to give their royal assent to their proposals, for establishing new laws or Statutes, or for the repeal, or amendment, of old ones, or for the imposing of new Taxes on the People, for the use of the King, and the benefit of the Publick. And of these Statutes, or Acts of Parliament, we have regular Records ever since the first part of the reign of King Henry the 3d, about the year of Christ 1240. And many of these Statutes, to which the Kings
of

of England have repeatedly given their assent, and, more particularly, the famous Statute called *Magna Charta*, or *the Great Charter of England*, (which is said to have been confirmed by different Kings of England more than thirty times) are made in express restraint of certain powers, which some of them had, then lately, taken upon themselves to exercise. And yet, notwithstanding all this weight of Historical and Legal Evidence against him, Mr. Hobbes ventures to assert boldly "That the Government of England is *an Absolute Monarchy*." But, however, he declares at the same time "that almost all the people of England, even those of the Nobility and Gentry who took arms on the King's side in the Civil War, as well as those who sided with the Parliament, thought *that the Government of England was not an Absolute, but a mix'd, or limited, monarchy*."

In proof of his having made this declaration, I will here cite two or three passages from his foregoing work.

In page 563, speaking of the Earl of Essex (whom the Parliament made the General of their Army,) he has these words, "He was not any ways addicted to Presbyterian doctrines, or to other Fanatick Tenets in Church or State; saying only *that he was*
carried

carried-away by the stream, in a manner, of the whole nation, to think that England was not an *Absolute*, but a *mixt, Monarchy*; not considering that the supreme Power must always be absolute, whether it be in the King or in the Parliament."

So here we see, that Mr. Hobbes sets-up his own opinion "*That the Government of England was an Absolute Monarchy*," in opposition to what he calls the Stream of the opinion of the whole English Nation, who held it to be "*a mixt, or limited, Monarchy*." I hope the readers of the foregoing work of Mr. Hobbes will join with me on this occasion in chusing to swim with the stream.

As to the last assertion of Mr. Hobbes, that the supreme power must always be absolute, whether it be in the King or in the Parliament," it seems to me to be a mere identical proposition, that has no distinct meaning; except that the two words *supreme* and *absolute* are synonymous expressions, or mean the same thing. The Earl of Essex and, with him, almost the whole English nation, thought "that neither the King without the Parliament, nor the Parliament without the King, had the supreme power over the whole nation; but that it belonged to the King and Parliament conjointly, or when

when they both agreed in adopting any proposed measure." And that continues still to be the general opinion of the nation.

Another passage in which Mr. Hobbes expresses his own disapprobation of the opinion "that the government of England is a *mixt and limited Monarchy*;" but at the same time declares that the said opinion is very generally received in England, occurs in page 567 in the following words:

"Those persons who gave the King counsel, as to his Declarations in answer to the Claims and Demands of the Parliament, were averse to *absolute monarchy*, as also to *absolute democracy*, or *aristocracy*; (all which governments they esteemed *tyranny*;) and were in love with a sort of monarchy, which they used to praise by the name of a *mixt monarchy*, though it were, indeed, nothing but pure *anarchy*."

The persons alluded-to in this passage were Sir Edward Hyde, (who was, after the Restoration, made Lord Chancellor of England and Earl of Clarendon) and the royalists who adopted his political principles, and acted under his direction. It is now well known that Sir Edward Hyde was the person who drew-up almost all those Declarations of the king, in answer to the Claims and Demands of the Parliament; and they
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are composed with great art and ability ; though they are not satisfactory to those who think (as I do) that the Parliament was perfectly justifiable in the eye of truth and reason, and upon the principles of self-defence, in taking-up arms as they did,—not with a design to dethrone the King, and change the government from a Monarchy into a Commonwealth—but to prevent the King from revoking and annulling all those excellent laws for the protection of publick liberty, which he had lately been prevailed-upon to assent-to ; which there is great reason to believe he would have done as soon as possible. For, if he had not entertained such a design, he would not have refused to reside near his parliament at Westminster, but would have continued to transact publick business in conjunction with them ; and, more especially, would have been eager to take speedy and vigorous measures for the suppression of the bloody Popish rebellion then raging in Ireland ; and would have consented to a Bill in Parliament that had been proposed to him in the preceeding month of February, 1641-42, for vesting the Militia of England in the hands of diverse Noblemen and Gentlemen of sound and good affections to publick Liberty

berty and the Protestant religion, who were named in the Bill itself with his approbation and suggestion, to be the Lords-Lieutenants and Deputy-lieutenants of the Militia of the several counties ;---which good things if he had done, instead of retiring from his Parliament to the North of England, and raising a little army there, under the name and pretence of a *Guard for his person*, there would, probably, have been no civil war.

Almost all the censures passed on the conduct of the Parliament, in the course of the foregoing work of Mr. Hobbes, are derived from the second and third Opinions above mentioned as having been entertained by him, namely, "that an Absolute Monarchy is the best of all possible governments ;" and "that the English government in the reign of King Charles the First, was an Absolute Monarchy ;" which opinions are, at the present day, almost universally throughout England, considered as very erroneous : and therefore the censures derived from them must be groundless and undeserved. But there are many observations in this work that are unconnected with those two opinions, and are full of truth and useful Information. The sentiments of the Presbyterian ministers, the Papists, the Independents, the Anabap-
tists

tists, and other Sectaries; the pretensions made by them to *spiritual power*; the nature of heresies, and the history of them; are clearly and justly described in page 458, 459, 460, &c. to 466; and the Pope's claims to power over temporal princes; the Prohibition of marriage in priests; the Institution of Auricular confession of sins to a priest; the doctrine of Transubstantiation; the Institution of Orders of Preaching Friars; and the Institution of Universities and Schools of Disputation; (all which Institutions had a tendency to encrease the power of the Pope, and were made for that purpose) are set-forth in pages 467, 468, &c. to 472: The Suppression of the Pope's Authority in England, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth; the Reformation of the church of England, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth; the State of the Papists in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First; are set-forth in pages 473, 474, 475: And the effects of publishing the Bible in an English translation, so that it might be read by all the people; which had given rise to a number of new Sects in religion; and the growth of the power of the Presbyterians in England; and the manner of preaching of the Presbyterian ministers; are set-forth in
pages

pages 476, 477, &c. to 480. And, in like manner, in all the following part of the work after page 480, much useful and entertaining historical matter will be found, together with many lively and judicious remarks upon it, except when they receive a tinge of error from the author's unhappy predilection for the government of an Absolute Monarch. I therefore hope that this work of Mr. Hobbes, (which, I believe, has not been often printed, and is not very generally known) will be thought by my readers to be not unworthy of a place in this Collection of Tracts, written by contemporary authors, relating to the history of the Civil War, notwithstanding his unfortunate attachment to a form of government so little suited to the general taste of Englishmen.

Francis Maseres.

Inner Temple,

May 19, 1814.

THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND

STATED:

OR,

A FAITHFUL AND JUST ACCOUNT OF THE AIMS OF
ALL PARTIES NOW PRETENDING.

DISTINCTLY TREATING OF THE DESIGNMENTS

OF

THE ROMAN CATHOLICK.

THE ROYALIST.

THE PRESBYTERIAN.

THE ANABAPTIST.

THE ARMY.

THE LATE PROTECTOR.

THE PARLIAMENT.

With their Effects in respect of *themselves*, of *one*
another, and of the *Publick*.

CLEARLY EVIDENCING

The unavoydable Ruine upon *all* from longer contest:

AND

Offering an *Expedient* for the composure of the respective Differ-
ences; to the *security* and *advantage*, not only of every *single*
Interest, but to the bringing solid, lasting, *Peace* unto the *Nation*.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1659, PROBABLY ABOUT THE 20TH OF
JULY.

N. B. This Tract is thought to have been written by the Rev. Mr.
John Fell, who was afterwards the celebrated Dean of Christ-
church College, in Oxford, and likewise Bishop of Oxford. See the
Biographia Britannica, in the article *John Fell*.

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tentions of single Men, or Parties, however numerous, are only so far forth to be pursued, as they advance the other general Interest. Which being laid-down as evident and certain truth, the next consideration will be, what are the Interests of all the several Parties of the Nation now on foot, and what the Publick Interest is; that so discovery may be made how consistent the private aims are, both among themselves, and with the general: and also how possible it is to find-out an Expedient, for the atchievement of the common good.

If we take a view of the several pretensions, carried-on in the Nation apart, we shall find the most considerable to be, the Roman-Catholick, the Royalist, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptist, the Army, the Protectorian, and that of the Parliament.

1. 'Tis the Roman-Catholick's aim not only to abrogate the Penal Laws, and become capable of all employments in the Common-wealth; but to introduce his Religion, to restore the Rights of the Church, and utterly eradicate all that he esteems Heresie.

2. 'Tis the Royalist's desire to bring-in the King as a Conquerour, to recover their losses in the late War, be rendered capable of civil employments, and have the former Government of the Church.

3. 'Tis the Presbyterian's desire to set-up his discipline, to have the Covenant re-inforced, and only such as take it, to be employed in Church or State; to be indemnified in reference to what they have done, and secured of what they possess.

4. 'Tis the wish of the Baptized Churches, that there might be no Ecclesiastical Government of any kind, nor Ministerial function, or provision for it; and that onely persons so minded, should be capable of employment; likewise to be indemnified for what they had done.

5. 'Tis the aim of the Army, to govern the Nation, to keep themselves from being disbanded, or engaged in war, to secure their pay, and to be indemnified for all past action.

6. 'Tis the desire of the Family of the late Protector to establish the Heir of his House, that they may rule

A view of the designs of the different Parties in the Nation.

rule him, and he the Nation, and so both preserve and advance themselves.

7. 'Tis the wish of the present Parliament, (as far as they have one common design) to continue themselves in absolute power, by the specious name of a popular Government; to new-model and divide, and, at last, take-down, the Army; and, finally, under the pretence of a Committee of Parliament, or Council of State, set-up an Oligarchy, resembling that of the thirty Tyrants in Athens.

Lastly, 'Tis the general Interest of the Nation to establish the ancient fundamental Laws, upon which every one's propriety and liberty are built, to settle Religion, to procure a general indemnity for all actions past, to revive their languishing and almost dead trade, gain an alliance with our neighbour States; to put the Government in such hands, as, besides present force, can plead a legal title to it; into the hands of such with whose private interest that of the publick not only consists, but in which 'tis necessarily involved; which likewise does least contradict the aims of particular parties. Lastly, the hands of such, whose counsel is fit to direct in matters of deliberation, and courage fit to vindicate the injuries of the Nation.

Having impartially proposed the several Interests that each Party designs to itself, we come now to consider how far they are attainable; or, if attained, how consistent with the publick benefit; next, how consistent with that of all other parties respectively; and, in fine, how productive of the real benefit of themselves.

First, as to the Roman-Catholick pretensions of restoring to the Pope his ancient revenue and jurisdiction, and to the Church all that was alienated in Henry the Eighth's time, 'tis no way feizable; the Perquisites of the See of Rome, and the payments to the Pope, being greater than our Contributions so much complained-of; and the impossibility of restitution of Church-Lands is plain from what was done in Queen Marie's days, when the greatest zealots for that profession chose rather to throw their Beads into the fire, than resign their conveyances of Abby-land. Then

The Roman-Catholick Party.

as to his religion, 'tis visibly the ruine of all other parties; Queen Marie's reformation by fire and faggot, with all the terrors of the Inquisition, being inseparable attendants on it. Now, the bulk of the Nation being possess'd of the usage they should have from the Roman Catholicks if they prevailed, besides all other Antipathies deeply radicated in the minds of far the greatest part of the Nation: it is morally impossible it should ever be introduced without a foreign force of such strength as to make an absolute conquest; which would involve the whole Nation, and the Papists themselves, in one common ruine: *The sword not distinguishing the Catholick from the Heretick; and having onely this kindness for its friends, to send them speedily to Heaven, when the others were designed for Hell**; and this the Catholicks were sensible of in the invasion of 88, assuring the Queen of as great fidelity as she could expect from any of her Protestant Subjects.

N. B.

The Royalist Party.

Secondly, the Royalist pretension of having the King an absolute Conqueror, as it would destroy the Interests of all parties that have appeared against him or his Father, would infringe the liberties of the English Subjects in general, and in fine, oppress the Cavalier himself. Besides, it is no way attainable by that party, being inconsiderable both in number and warlike preparations to the rest: yet farther, should he so prevail, the looking-back for restitution of all damages past in so many years, were utterly against his Interest, and would forfeit the most absolute victory: no power being retained by violence, however acquired thereby. And in those terms of difficulty, the setting-up the primitive Government of the Church, at least in its full height, against so great a multitude of eager Dissenters, according to probability will not stand.

The Presbyterian Party.

Thirdly, the Presbyterian aim of setting-up his Discipline, has the former inconveniences, with the addition of some others; for, besides that its rise must be the overthrow of all other parties, which are more

* The very words of a Spanish Frier, when demanded what they would do with the English Catholicks in 1588.

considerable in the Nation then themselves; that rigid Government no ways complies with the genius of the Nation, nor the frame of our Municipal Laws: which the late King was well aware of, when he conceded to the setting of it up for three years, being fully satisfied how effectual an argument the experience of that short time would be to perswade the Nation to endure so galling and heavy a yoke no longer. As to the point of Indemnity, that is secured sufficiently in the preceeding paragraph; for, if the Cavaliers, who are the great sufferers, must have no reparations (as I am confident they expect none) there is no other party else to fear the making any; and, as the Case now stands in the Church, the late discouragements for learning have left so small a store of persons fit for Ecclesiastical employments, that Livings will want Scholars of what party soever, and be scarce supplied; and not Scholars be destitute of Livings.

N. B.

Fourthly, the pretensions of the *Baptised Churches* have no less inconvenience attending them: as first, importing the ruin of all other professions of religion; the adherents to which are evidently not only the most numerous, but infinitely the most substantial part of the nation; then, if attained, they cannot possibly subsist, it being a maxim in policy, that *Religion is the cement of Government*, without a publick profession of which, and the maintenance of Learning and Ministry, Atheism and disorder must needs break-in. Withal, they having no temporal Government, either in a single person, or community, to which even themselves would unanimously submit, they cannot incorporate into a civil society of any kind. Lastly, the practices in Germany by the Anabaptists there; their cruelty, and all manner of disorder; their taking-away all property of Estates; founding it in Grace and Saintship, with the hard treatment which the Papists in Ireland have found, and the Presbyterian Scots in the North part of the same kingdom, have lately received from that party, make all other parties infinitely dissatisfied in their acquiring any power over them.

The Baptized Churches.

N. B.

Fifthly, as to the Army's governing the Nation, I shall not insist on the inconsiderableness of their num-

The Army.

On the 7th May,
1659.

ber, or the intolerableness of being ruled by the sword, &c. There needs no more be said, but that a few weeks since, they so plainly saw the impossibility of it, that they were content to put the power * into the hands of those persons whom they had most highly disoblged of all men, and whose interest visibly it was, (and always will be) to pull them down; not knowing otherwise how to dispose either of themselves, or the power they had taken from the Protector, and the former Parliament; nay, they are now content to have their officers thrown-out after an arbitrary manner, and those that remain, forced to take commissions from their new Masters, and old Enemies, which are to last but for a few months, and may, possibly, be taken-away before many days pass over. In the mean time awed with the exclusion from idempnity, as also with the raising county-troops, and new militias, which, whatever is pretended, are designed only to check and curb them; likewise, their Arrears so pitifully satisfied, that they seem rather a jeer than a payment. And yet they choose to submit to all this rather than venture the confusion of assuming the power into their own hands.

The Protectorian
Party.

* Richard Cromwell.

6. The pretensions of the *Protectorian* Interest, are now so low, so odious; and, what is worse than that, ridiculous to the nation, the several Members of the Family having been false to one another, and their best friends, and the late Heir * having in his person betrayed so much folly and cowardice, (two ingredients which would destroy any Government,) it would be impertinent to shew that it cannot be acquired, or, if possibly returned, could not be settled; and of the unattainableness of their design, the old Protector himself would be further evidence, whose successes and repute in the world gave him advantages far before those any of his Line can hope to have; and yet we see, he could never get that title he so much thirsted-for; and, if he had gained it, (which it is credibly reported, he designed upon that very day he died) it is visible to prudent men, how fatal it would have been, even to him. But lastly, how far it would be from the Interest of the Nation, to espouse such a quarrel, as the

the maintenance of such a Family, with their lives and fortunes; let them be judges, who in their addresses solemnly promised to do so, and, within a few weeks after, utterly deserted it.

7. The remnant *Parliamentary* Interest, is of the nature, that rises merely by the Army's favour, and can stand only on its ruin, and the Nation's. Its place of right is so thin, that a sober person would be ashamed to own it; they being (to pass by other failances) long ago, legally dissolved in the death of the King; after, apparently at least, (having been) made unfree by the seclusion of their Members; and lastly, actually dissolved by the late Protector; which was acknowledged by as many Members against themselves as sat in the intermediate Parliaments; especially in the last, which was called upon the old national account, and had the authority of the Act for a triennial Parliament to ground their convention. And now, to compleat the Tyranny and Usurpation, this carcase * of a Parliament, dead many years ago, being conjured-up from its ashes and rottenness, by the omnipotence of the Army, continues the old seclusion still, and fills not up the vacant places; nay, so far from filling-up, that its primary aim is to overthrow the constitution of Parliaments; and, though

The Party of the Commonwealth-Parliament.

N. B.

That of the Protector, Richard Cromwell.

* It appears by this passage that this Commonwealth-Parliament, consisting of a remnant of the famous long Parliament that met at Westminster on the 3d of November, 1640, and conducted the Civil War with King Charles the First, was at this time, July 20, or 21, 1659, spoken-of with great slight and contempt on account of the small number of persons of which it was composed, after the forcible seclusion of a great majority of its members in December, 1648, by the army, to make way for the trial and execution of King Charles the First. And on the 11th of the month of February, in the following year, 1659-60, upon the reconciliation of General Monk and his army with the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, after having executed some severe orders given him by the Parliament against their rights and privileges, which had highly incensed them, they received the name of *the Rump Parliament*, by which they are often called by Historians. Dr. Skinner, in his *Life of General Monk*, (which contains a very exact account of the several steps taken by him to bring-about the Restoration of King Charles the Second,) informs us of this circumstance in these words, "But, before this, the apprentices and common people, in detestation of the Juncto, to whom they had given this night the lasting name of *the Rump Parliament*, had set all the bells in the city on ringing, and kindled bonfires in every street, which continued till morning, and this Saturday night, February 11, was called *The Roasting of the Rump*." Chapter xviii, Section ix.

it

it pretends to popularity, dares not refer itself to the free votes of the people. Nor may they hope to fool the Nation with promises of not out-fitting a prefixt time, or with their Rotations and Fantastical Elections, which are no way grounded on the people's choice, and, besides, lay no foundation of Settlement, as being unpracticable; and, what is more, when settled, may be varied, both by their present contrivers, and by those future persons that shall be chosen: and lastly, by the Army, without whose licence nothing is valid, or of force. In short, its pretensions are far more destructive to the Nation, than even the *Protectorian* are, it being better to submit to the last, and serve the ends, of one Family than of twelve, or thirty, or whatever number the Oligarchy fixes. Its subsistence depending meerly upon this Army, whose visible Interest it is to dissolve them, they cannot possibly bring-about their ends; for should they take-down this, and modell a new Army, the Interest of that Army would be the same, though the men were changed; and the mutual ruine of each other must still continue necessary for the support of either.

From which premises we may conclude; that the pretensions of no party now on foot in the Nation are attainable: or, if attain'd, are consistent with the good of other parties, or of the Nation; or, in fine, with their own; and from hence likewise, one would be apt to conclude, that the ruin of the Publick is inevitable; there being no door of hope left open to receive, no method visible to unite, such distant and incompatible ends.

But, notwithstanding all this, 'tis not impossible, no nor hard, to find an Expedient that shall evacuate all these difficulties: not only establish the general concernment, but (exorbitant passion only retrencht) satisfy the reall Interest of every party, nay, single person, in the Nation.

Now to the cheerful reception of such an overture, I suppose there is no need to perswade, nor even to admonish, that words and names, however rendered odious, ought not to fright us from our certain Benefit and dearest Interest. All that is demanded here, is,

that,

that, if, upon serious consideration, the proposal be found reasonable, men would be so kind to themselves as to receive it. The Assertion I doubt not to make most plain and evident; and therefore shall as plainly pronounce it. 'Tis this, *the calling-in the King. is the certain and only means for the preservation of the Kingdom, and also of the rights and Interests of all single persons in it.*

That the calling in the absent King would contribute most to the peace and settlement of the Nation.

To make this evident in every part, I will retain the former Method, and take a just account of all the before-mentioned particulars, that there may be no possibility left for Fallacy or Errour.

I begin with common national Interest. And that this accords with it, becomes manifest; for that the first requisite, "the Establishing the fundamental Laws," necessarily brings in the King. This likewise affords a legal way for redressing of grievances, of what kind soever, and a sure and full Indemnity to all persons; will settle Religion upon such a Basis, as shall give satisfaction to all that are for Government in the church; as also those that dissent therein. It being visible, that all Englishmen are equally near to him, to whom they are related, not by the private names of Faction or Opinion, but by that one common bond of Allegiance; there being no more reason why he should be partial in his affections to them, while they all agree in Loyalty, (though they differ in other matters;) than why a Father should be fond to one Son, and discourage another (both being equally obedient) upon pretence of their divers hairs or complexions; though Tyrants and Usurpers have found it necessary still to cajole and fool some one faction, that they might make an interest which they had not, and by any means gain a colour and support to their usurpation. This, and this onely, will advance Trade, which the Spanish and Danish quarrels have almost destroyed;—will give an alliance with neighbour States, his Family being already engrafted into the principal Stems of Europe, and his future marriage giving opportunity to make an advantageous affinity to strengthen those present Interests;—this will take-off the vast charge of Intelligence and bribes, which have been hitherto employed merely
against

against the restitution of his Family: will supersede the necessity of those * unreasonable wars, that were begun upon that single account, (I need not instance in particulars to make myself understood.) 'Twill cut-off the charge of the Appendages of this crown, the Scottish and Irish Nations; which are now from hence become a burthen; besides a ground of Everlasting Jealousie and danger. Yet further; the Government being put into the King's hands, 'twill be established not onely by that power which is committed to him; but by the more sure exactors of obedience; affection and duty. He being an hereditary Prince, his private interest must be the same with that of the Nation; which too will not be limited by the present age, but reach posterity. This likewise very well consists with the Interest of all private parties, as anon shall be particularly made manifest. Moreover, the Government will be put into the hands of a person so fit for employment as no one living the like: his education through all hardships of fortune, his converse abroad in the Courts of the most considerable of his neighbour Princes; his managery of business in his own person; his engagements in warlike hazards; with others likewise of all kinds; his age perfectly mature; his understanding sharp to apprehend; and resolution steady to pursue; joined with an infinite sweetness of temper; concurring to make up so perfect a sufficiency for Empire, that the most wanton wishes of men cannot fancy any thing, that he will not either make good, or out-do. But farther, to manifest the restoring of his family to be the onely means of settling the Nation, I add this evident proof; "That we have made trial of all other forms of Government, and of his in another Line, all in vain:" First, of an *Aristocracy*, while the House of

A favourable description of the absent King.

* This seems to allude to the bloody naval war with the Commonwealth of Holland, in the year 1652, which took its rise from the murder of Dr. Dorislaus, the Envoy of the Commonwealth of England, to the Commonwealth of Holland, by some English *Cavaliers*, or *Royalists*, in revenge for the publick execution of King Charles I. by the Authority of a part of the English Parliament. The marriage of the Prince of Orange (who was Stadtholder of Holland) with the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I., had given rise to a Party in Holland, who adopted the sentiments of the English *Cavaliers*, or *Royalists*.

Peers survived ; then of a *Democracy*, in the House of *Commons* by itself ; After, of a *Monarchy*, in the old Protector and his Son ; and now of an *Oligarchy*, in the present *Usurpers* at *Westminster* ; so that there is nothing now left us, but either *Anarchy* or his *Restitution*. Besides this, “ that the ancient regal Government is the desire of the whole body of the Nation,” becomes plain from hence, that all late Parliaments, however unequally chosen, have (or were suspected to have) designed the restoration of it ; and that this is the present sense of almost every man, is so notorious, that the late Petition* of July 6, address’d by the men of *Westminster* to themselves, and for which they give themselves solemn thanks, knows not how to dissemble it, but confesses in plain terms, *That the Interest of the late King’s Son is cryed-up and promoted daily, upon pretence that there will be nothing but confusion and tyranny until he come to govern : and that such as declare for a Common-wealth are for Anarchy and Confusion, and can never agree among themselves what they would have.*

It is the general desire of the Nation that the King should be restored.

I shall not farther enlarge upon this head, but proceed to what remains before me ; to justify the Necessity of bringing-in the King, in reference to the private concerns of every party in the Nation ; and

Of the Benefits that would arise to the several Parties in the Nation from the Restoration of the King.

1. ’Tis the Interest of the Roman-Catholicks ; for by that means the heavy payments now on their Estates, with other burthens, will be taken-off ; and, as to the pressures of Penal Laws, they cannot but remember how far from grievous they were in the late King’s time, the Catholicks living here, notwithstanding them, in a more flourishing condition than those of France, Italy, or Spain did, under their respective Princes ; and would do infinitely more under their natural King, than if any foreigner should acquire the power by conquest. Besides, they, generally having adhered to the late King in his Wars, have no reason to distrust the finding favourable treatment from his Son, and a due share of that indulgence which he is ready to afford to even his greatest Enemies.

2. The Royalist and English Protestant, besides that his principles oblige him “ cheerfully to pay his obedi-

* That themselves penned that Petition, was at first easily conjectured, but is now certainly known.

ence where it is due, and to look no further," is likewise by his Interest concerned to be content with such a restitution of the King as allows no private reparations for past sufferings: they thereby acquiring full possession of what remains; and the settlement of the Nation would make the smallest estate more advantageous than the greatest would be, if acquired by violence: which unavoidably would defeat all terms of union, and involve the Nation in new Wars: So likewise, if the necessary parts of their way of Worship be secured, (which no party would envy them, being in a manner gratified as much themselves) circumstantial, or other things, would be easily settled by a fair and amicable treaty.

3. It is the Presbyterian's interest this: as being his only way to preserve himself from ruine at the hands of those lesser parties that have grown-up under him; who, utterly oppose all Government in the church, the being and the supports of the Ministerial function, and the encouragement of the Party in the State. The speculative differences and contests with the Episcopal Divines, are, in the opinion of moderate men of either judgement, easily atoned: And this compliance, as the most necessary, so will it be the most honourable act to them imaginable; silencing all those vehement suspicions, and hard censures, that now pass uncontroll'd; and justifying those pretensions of Loyalty to the King, which were written in their Banners, and solemnly covenanted-for in the beginning of the War; Besides, it is, upon the matter, what was desired at Uxbridge, and agreed-upon at the Isle of Wight. But, if any of the party be unsatisfied herein, let him consult the late very memorable Writings of Mr. Prynne, which many have thought fit to deride, but no body seriously to confute; and he shall find what will abundantly convince him.

4. As to the Interest of the Baptized Churches; their pretensions of throwing-down all other parties, being not feizable; 'tis their concern to acquiesce in the most moderate Church-government; which is certainly the Episcopal, confest to be such, (even as exercised heretofore,) by all parties in their disputes and differences

A recommendation
of Mr. Prynne's late
Political writings.

ences with each other; and yet is fairly capable of such farther allays, as shall appear to be for the peace of the Church and Nation. Besides, it being a fundamental principle with them of the Independent way, to admit liberty of Conscience; they have no reason to be angry if persons of different Judgements proceed according to their principles: And, this being indulged to them, with the assurance of enjoying their temporal possessions, there is nothing imaginable, which with reason they can desire more. Their very Satisfaction of taking-down Tythes, being so far from yielding them any real advantage, that 'tis most visible, that all it will do must be this, "to translate these payments from the clergy to State-farmers." And by that time they have tasted the difference between the precarious collections, and almost begging, of a Minister, and the cruel exactions and gripes of a Publican's iron hands; I dare promise for them, that they will heartily unwish all their unreasonable and ill-grounded desires in that behalf.

5. It is the Interest of the Army to call-in the King. For, first, to be under a single person, is so palpably their concern, that there is scarce a common Soldier among them, who is not sensible of it; and, if so, then evidently, it is better to be under him than any other; for thereby they cut-off the necessity of perpetual Wars, and so the hazarding of all their acquisitions; thereby they assure themselves, from those dangers of being taken-down, stopt in pay, and defeated of Arrears; He being the only person that can (with a free Parliament) raise contributions and Taxes in a legal manner, and to the satisfaction of the Nation. And [he is also] the only one that can trust them as a standing body; which usurpers never must do, as is manifest by the treatment the Army has hitherto had under their several Masters. For, to pass-by their present usage, before decypher'd by me; the old Protector made them Stales and properties, not only (to assist his Tyranny,) employing them against the Enemies of his particular, and not the Nation's, Interest: But he did it also to ease himself of such of them as had more honesty, wit, or courage, than he thought fit for his purposes. Hence they were cast upon the Irish, Scottish, Flanders, French,

Hardships imposed upon the Army by Oliver Cromwell, arising from his jealousy and fear of them.

French, and Jamaica, Services turned on Ship-board in the Fleets, garbled, discarded, or removed from place to place, seldom trusted long under the same Officers, nor suffered to communicate counsels, or meet at a general Rendezvous. When, on the other side, a Prince that has a just title to support him, has no ground of such suspicions, but, reposing himself on the loyalty of his people, will honourably, and with affection, treat all that in any employment serve him. And, as to the person of the King, he has a natural and particular respect for this Army: however they have deserved of him: admiring their valour and discipline, even when employed against him. I will give but one instance, which, though it may seem slight, is not so as to the point in hand. 'Tis this; In the late Flanders service, upon the occasional mention of the Armie's behaviour, in the engagements with the Spanish forces near Dunkirk, the taking of the towns, and some other services of lesser moment, he was observed still to give such an affectionate testimony to the English Gallantry, as was no way pleasing to the lesse noble hearers, who liked to have nothing besides themselves commended. Thus did he frequently contend for *their* honour, that fought against *his* honour and life to boot; and was *their* champion who were *his* enemies. And, indeed, it would be infinitely strange, that they, who so prodigally spent their blood by Sea and Land, to establish an ungrateful Monster, whose recompence for the greatest merits, was only the exposing them to new and greater dangers;—whose certainest pay was suspicion, affront, and injury; and who, afterwards, submitted to his Son, a person of no worth or credit, (of whom this comparative commendation can only be given, that he is not so very a brute as his brother,) and, (to close all) who restored to Power the long-forgotten dregs of a cast-off Parliament, should envy to themselves, the honour and advantage of being commanded by a Prince, of known integrity and virtue; a Prince that loves them, even in despite of all their injuries; and, (which is the highest endearment among Soldiers) a Prince of eminent personal valour, which several of themselves are witnesses of,

especially

especially at Worcester and Mardike, and, if they pleased, might be in more and fairer instances. Lastly, a Prince, who is the only visible Expedient upon earth, to render at once, both them and their posterity, and the whole Nation, happy. Were this directed to the French or Spanish infantry, (those venal souls that understand nothing besides pay and plunder;) these arguments from reason, national interest and honour, would possibly be lost; but to the English Army, (that still has owned a publick spirit, where every common man knows how to direct as well as to obey, and to judge no less than to execute,) to have proposed the truth, must be enough: nor will they fail to fix their thoughts upon it, or steer themselves as prudence shall instruct.

Lastly, as to the Interest of the Protector's party, and the Parliament, they are concerned to call-in the King. For, it being impossible for them to make good their aims, it must be wisdom to secure themselves and their estates, and take part in that Oblivion and Amnesty, which he is ready to give, as also in those rewards, which, whoever serve him in any kind, (especially in being instrumental to his restitution) will be sure to have.

Now to all this I can foresee but one material objection; which is, that the several forementioned parties cannot be secured, that the admission of the King will not be insidious and ensnaring to them; and that, whatever engagements he now makes, when he shall come to power, he will, in likelihood, rescind and cancel. To which I briefly answer, that this is no real objection at all: for somebody or other must be trusted still, there being no living in the world without mutual confidence; and whoever is invested with power, may act injuriously, in despite of any foresight. Besides, amongst all these parties, where each is exasperated against the other, there will be the same, or greater, cause of jealousy, if any of them were suffered to prevail. And it would be worth the thinking-of, whether it were not a manifest judgement of God upon us, that broke the treaty with the late King, upon suggestions, that it was not safe to trust him, and chose to rely upon

Of the doubts entertained by some persons concerning the faithful performance of any conditions to which the absent King should give his consent, in order to his restoration.

N. B.
Of the Perfidy and
Hypocrisy of the late
Protector, Oliver
Cromwell.

There are just
grounds for thinking
that the King will
faithfully observe
such conditions.

Of the wise and up-
right conduct of
king Henry the 4th
of France towards
the Party that had
opposed his acces-
sion to the crown.

the faith of one of our fellow-subjects ; that he should prove the most perfidious person in the world, to all that trusted him ; to the Parliament, the Army, the Nation, and even his private friends and allies ; inso-much, that no history of any age or people, can yield a parallel to him for falseness, perjury, hypocrisy, and breach of faith ; and, if this look like a judgement, it will then be worth the weighing, whether it becomes us to go-on in our unfortunate, infidel, practice still ? In cases of this kind, there are but two ways of assurance ; I mean so perfectly uncontrollable as to be valid, if either of them both be present. The one is the honesty of the person that engages ; the other is his Interest ; and here, not one of these alone is present, but both concur ; which certainly must make-up a security [that will be] beyond all doubt or question. As to the Honesty of the King, no malice has the impudence to blast it ; his Moderation, Sobriety, and Justice, being as well known as his misfortunes are. Next, as to Interest, it visibly concerns him to be punctual in his engagements ; First, to offer pardon to all that stand in need of it, and then most faithfully to make it good in each particular ; loss of credit infallibly breaking the merchant and private dealer, but ruining more irreparably the publick, national, one ; when, on the other side, precise, exact, performance strangely supports both one and the other. Of the benefit hereof, I shall give an eminent instance of late memory in his own family, and therefore of which we cannot suppose him to be ignorant. It is his Grandfather, King Henry the Fourth, of France, who, after long wars, coming to his right, besides his relief from Queen Elizabeth, by no other human aid, but the relenting and late wisdom of his own people ; and being forced to make a peace, by many particular treaties, still was exact in keeping them ; and received into his entire favour and solid friendship, all those who had fought against him ; and governed his most important affairs, both civil and military, by the counsel and conduct of his sometimes enemies ; such as were, not only the Duke of Nevers, Villeroy, and President Jeannin, but even the Head of the League, the Duke

of

of Maine himself, to whom he committed the conduct of all the force of France, (though then personally present) when the Prince of Parma came to relieve Amiens; and after, to make good his own promise of Indemnity, protected him, when he was questioned for the murder of Henry the Third, by interposing his own supreme power, when the chambers of Parliament were ready to condemn him; though thereby he was sure to undergo the imputation of rescuing so great a malefactor, against the clamours of the people, the regular process of the law, the passionate demands of a disconsolate Widow-Queen, and his own particular nearnesses of the highest mark, his relation to him both in Blood and in Succession. Yet, by doing this, he not only settled himself upon the throne, but attained that greatness which no other Method of proceeding upon that occasion could have contrived for him. And, "why we should think that the King would not be resolved to consult as well for himself, as his Grand father did for himself," I suppose it will puzzle the wisest patrons of Distrust, to give the least pretence, or shew of reason; as also it would do to shew, why we should not take pattern by that part of the Story which as nearly concerns us. For, they being then exactly in the same case that we are in now, crumbled into as many divisions and subdivisions, as so great variety of Interest and Religion in that long Civil war could make; bearing an inveterate, mortal, hatred to each other, and almost all of them to the King;---yet, seeing the ruin approaching both from themselves and from strangers, the whole French Nation did submit to its Prince again, at whose throat their swords had so often pointed, and whom they had for so many years devoted to Hell as well as to death, under the title of Heretick and Apostate. And, by acting with this moderation and prudence, they became suddenly the most flourishing and the most potent people of Europe. But, besides this, the King has yet a farther motive to offer Grace to all that will accept it, and religiously to make it good, that is peculiar to himself, and of proportionate value with him; namely, the command and strict injunction of his dying Father, whose memory he too much esteems, not to fulfill that legacy and last bequest of his, were there no other motive to persuade him to it. His

scrupulousness in this particular is known to be such, as to become a charge against him, and that with more than ordinary vehemence, from the Hot-spurs of the two extreme parties which he has had occasion to deal-with, the Catholick and the Presbyterian. The injunction I mean is notorious to every person, making-up a great part of the Missive directed to the now present King, under the style of Prince of Wales; I cannot forbear to insert a few lines, as they fell from the pen of the incomparable Author. They run thus.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity and Oblivion in so great a latitude as may include all that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you always propense to the same way: whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace which God has given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of God's love to me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident, as I am, that the most (of all sides) who have done amiss, have done so, not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to me and you, than those Subjects, sensible of their errors and our injuries, will feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.*

But if all this be not enough to supersede suspicion and doubt, let me yet add a farther testimony. The King admits at this day to his bosome and nearest trust, several persons, that have been engaged against his father, and some of them in actions most fatal to his affairs; an infallible assurance, that it is only the fault of the rest, that they are not there too. More than this, concerning a future performance, to assure it, can

* The King's Book, Sect. 27.

not be said or done, except it should please God to work Miracles ; which, I hope, nobody does now expect.

The short of all is : Without trusting some one or other, the Nation is certainly destroyed : and no person in the world, besides the King, is in a capacity to avert the impending ruin, or can give the like security of himself, as he can do. I will not now prescribe unto the reader's understanding, in dictating an inference ; but, from the Premises, desire him at his leisure to draw out the conclusion.

Having thus without Passion, partiality, or prejudice, endeavoured clearly to lay down the exact case of the Nation, both in respect of its disease and its cure ; 'twill be superfluous to add perswasives : for men do not use to be importuned to leave their torment or disease, or want rhetorical inducements to do so, after the pleadings of Interest and Profit. I forbear therefore to address myself unto Affection, and to beg that thing, which it visibly concerns them that are courted, to make the subject of their importunate request and suit : Nor will I enlarge upon the motives yet untoucht, drawn from Religion, and the respects of Protestations, Covenants, and Oaths ; as also native Allegiance ; or (what is infinitely considerable,) motives taken from the state of publick affairs abroad ; our neighbour Nations being now at peace among themselves, and looking-out for foreign war, thereby to employ their useless forces ; pretence, and colour, and desire too, for the undertaking of which, we have given to every one about us, in our late attempts* on them ; and [our present unsettled state] likewise yields [them] assurance, that they shall succeed by our disagreement here among ourselves. Let all this be seriously weigh'd : I am factor for no Interest or Party, nor seek the thanks, or favour, of any person, but rather expect the fate of Reconcilers, "to displease every body." But let that succeed as it shall happen ; the injury that I have done cannot cer-

* The naval war against the Dutch in the year 1652, and Oliver Cromwell's war with Spain in the year 1657.

tainly be esteemed great; all that is said, amounting but to this very reasonable desire, “that my fellow-subjects will remember these two plain truths, first, “that they are *Englishmen*,” and so consider the good of the Nation; and then, “that they are men,” and so pursue their own.

THE
MYSTERY AND METHOD

OF HIS

MAJESTY'S HAPPY RESTAURATION,

LAID OPEN TO

PUBLICK VIEW.

BY JOHN PRICE, D. D.

One of the late Duke of Albemarle's Chaplains, who was Privy to all the Secret
Passages and Particularities of that Glorious Revolution.

LONDON:

Printed for James Vade, at the Cock and Sugar-Loaf, near St.
Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, 1680.

*To the Right Honourable John Earl of Bath ; Viscount Green-
vile of Lansdown ; Baron Greenvile of Biddiford and Kelk-
hampton, Knight ; Groom of the Stole ; First Gentleman of
the Bedchamber ; Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Devon
and Cornwall, and one of the Lords of his Majesty's Most
Honourable Privy Council, &c.*

MY LORD,

WHAT I have here presented to your Lordship's view, I did once design to have transmitted to posterity, in a large draught, and in a freer style, and to have reserved it as my last testament, to the care of my executor, in confidence that it would then have entertainment with such as should not be tempted, by impulses of Prejudice, Interest, or Malevolence, to asperse the generous and successful attempts of General Monk, towards the restoring of our present Sovereign, whom God preserve long among us! But, finding that, of late, his Loyalty to his Prince hath been daily more and more questioned and traduced, and his Conduct abated; nay, and that myself have been charged to my face with the rude imputation of *forgery*, upon my undertaking, occasionally, in private discourses, to vindicate and assert his Integrity and Sincerity; (knowing, so well as I did, upon what grounds he first engaged): And this too by such persons generally, as, of all men in the world, had the least reason to do it: I am forced to alter my first resolution, as not being able to answer it to the sacred ashes of my deceased Lord and Patron, the with-holding of these *papers* (how rude and imperfect soever) any longer from the *publick*. It might possibly be one grain in the scale also; the consideration that there are none (that I know of) now living (but your Lordship and your servant of this Memorial) that were privy to the motives of the
General's

General's first engagement, when Sir George Booth was at the head of some confederates in Cheshire.

Now, though true it be that that Combination took not effect, (and indeed it was well for the General, nay and possibly for the Kingdom too, that it did not): yet from the time of Lambert's turning out of doors his Masters at Westminster, I do avouch that my Lord did, all along, with a direct eye, aim at the King's Restauration. Neither is it improbable but that this second attempt would have miscarried likewise, had not the conduct of it been in the hand of a superior Providence: For, upon the General's open protesting in Scotland against the English Army for disturbing the *Rump*; the *Cavalier* and *Presbyterian* (the then two royal) Parties became Rampant in their hopes; though neither of them altogether forgetting their old animosities. Wherefore the more discerning *Independents*, fearing an approaching ruin (adjudging it prudent to make advantage of these *heart-burnings*), began to make fresh court to the Presbyterian; he being of a nearer alliance, as having fought under the same *colours* and pay with themselves, against the late King. These two great Parties comprehended, in a manner, the body of the English and Scottish subjects; though both of them were overawed and kept-under by the then domineering faction of the Sectaries. The former of these had been in the field for Charles the First against his two Houses of Parliament: whom he (by a law of his own making) having permitted to continue *there as such*, whether for him or against him: it was soon found by woful experience that he had lost his *Crown* before a stroke was struck.

The *Cavaliers* (who were of the Nobility and Gentry of England, and of whom your Lordship was one) came-in freely, and generously adhered to the King, as their Sovereign. And yet (which is dolorous to remember) he lost his life by a *mockery of justice*. This was a piece of *villainy* not to be paralleled in any history: and Bishop Andrews has delivered as much in his notes upon the sixth commandment, cap. 2, in these words. " Yet
" never any people in the world," says he, " pretended by
" any colour of legal proceedings, or shew of mock-justice, to
" touch

“ touch the life of a Prince,” &c. Neither possibly could this have entered his fancy, had not the fresh death of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the monumental lines of a prophetic poet (to be found in Archbishop Spotwood’s history) suggested the consequences to his thoughts thus: that *since one* Sovereign Prince *had executed another, equal to herself* in regalities; *the case might be, when a People would do the like to their Prince.* Now the Cavaliers had not only lost their *estates*, by the fortune of war; but even their *hopes* also of ever being in a condition to appear again, by themselves, for the recovery of their own *losses*, or the *Crown of England*, which fell with their master’s *head*.

My charity induces me to believe that the soberer part of the Presbyterians had been decoyed into a war, with the inscription of *Loyalty* upon their arms, and under the plausible pretence of fighting for King *and* Parliament. But however, they lived to repent of the *felicities* of them; for, having acted their parts too far, they were forced to yield to more subtle *Engineers* of *State*, who had a further game to play; *bishops lands* not being *booty* enough for so many sharers. Thus themselves *suffered* as well as *acted a Reformation*, and so went off the stage.

Now, though their *name* was not so offensive to the then Parliament and Army, as was that of the Cavalier; yet they still kept an eye equally wakeful over them *both*; especially now, upon their finding that they were, neither of them, capable of concealing their inward satisfaction at General Monk’s remonstrating against the Army in England. And, indeed, their hopes upon this occasion were so luxuriant, that some of them durst pray for his *success*, and others not only drink *his health* but the *King’s* too; and that publicly. Nay, he had not marched many days from his cold quarters on the north of Tweed (his march being without orders too), before the sound of bells that welcomed us into England, had filled the ears even of his very officers with the noise of jealousies and apprehensions, touching the end of his making this long journey. And, though they had learned the duty of soldiers not to *mutiny*, no nor so much as to expostulate with him; yet it was evident that several of them seemed that there was more in the action, than did openly appear.

But,

N. B.

But, though the General was able to deal well enough with these, yet he could not overcome those of his masters at *Westminster*, who did not well relish this hasty march even of their *Restorer*. Yet they could not in gratitude refuse him and his army the liberty of a visit : and besides, should they by express orders remand him back to his Scottish quarters, they could not be assured of security at home for the future, because the English army, being but newly returned to their duty, did not appear to be fast and well-confirmed ; they fearing that *Ambition*, in their officers, was rather laid-asleep than extinguished. And indeed they did not so much as suspect General Monk to be guilty of this ; his deportment in their service being so modest, that none of them ever thought he aimed at the Government, whatsoever other jealousies might be buzzed in their ears touching Charles Stuart. And this, truly, was the greatest advantage he had of them. Besides, his natural Taciturnity was such, that most of his friends (who thought they knew him thoroughly) looked upon George Monk to have no other craft in him, than that of a plain soldier, who would obey the Parliament's orders, as well as see that his *own* were obeyed. So that, had not the more subtle *smell-plots* of the Council of State (*Scot*, their Secretary, among the rest) divined something of Mr. Nicholas Monk's journey into *Scotland* the summer before ; the General's march into *England* without, or, rather, against, orders, had been little suspected. But their distrusts of him more and more encreased, the nearer he approached towards them.

And this he soon discovered, and was fully satisfied-in upon his coming to *Whitehall*. For then his authority was lessened by the presence of a Co-general, the impatient *Hazelrig* ; who had much the advantage of him, as being a member of the same Parliament, and able to vie with him in point of merit ; he having been their *Restorer* in the South at *Portsmouth*, as the other was in the North at *Coldstream*. Nor was Monk himself without his suspicions that he should not only lose his limb of the Generalship, but be questioned for a delinquent, rather than honoured as a *Restorer*. So that, having no counsel left him but sudden action ; what he was to do, he did quickly, and made the change as swift as Comedians do their's : For, in one week's

week's time, he courted the Parliament and Council of State not with *words* only, but with *deeds*; and such too as must render him wholly their own; he unhinged all the gates of the city of *London*, brake some of them, pulled-up their posts and chains, and defeated all popular expectations of him to such a degree, that I have heard him reviled in the streets, (himself but hard-by too) to this effect. *Is this that Monk that would bring-in the King? This is the Scottish Devil. What more mischief thence?* But Sir Arthur Hazelrig (on the other side) sang his Pæans: *Now, George, (said he) we have thee for ever, body and soul.* Nay, our little *Scottish* army itself was astonished, and the officers, in doing this drudgery, spake merry discontents when they took-up the posts and chains. *These are the chains and medals* (said they) *that the Parliament promised us at Coldstream.* Many of them would not act in this tragi-comedy, but offered to lay-down their *commissions*, which the General would not suffer them to do; but reprehended them in this style. *What? will you not obey the Parliament's orders?* Insinuating as if this odious action had been unavoidably forced upon him: and indeed, by the frowns and clouds in his face they easily perceived whereabout he was, and readily took the hint to cabal into new counsels against such task-masters. This now he accepted; for upon his return out of the city, a letter was framed in the night, and sent the next morning from *Whitehall* to the Parliament; and then he immediately marched his army into the city, where he continued till he had let-in the *secluded members* of 1648. Thus did he free himself from the danger that threatened him for his former loyalty in *August* before; compleat his own safety, and the first step to the King's restauration, all at a blow.

Although by premising these things, (my Lord) I have (designedly too) violated the laws of method, yet I have not forgot that I am in a dedicatory preface; and that my business is to implore your Lordship's patronage.

Now so conscious am I of your Lordship's candour and goodness, that this humble request will (I persuade myself) without much difficulty, be granted. For your Lordship may possibly still remember, that, upon the first introducing of Mr. Nicholas Monk and myself into the King's presence, you
were

were pleased to assert his zeal and readiness to serve his Majesty, and in what instances he had done it: particularly mentioning his journey to *Scotland* (and his negotiation with his brother there) as being undertaken upon your express commands: for he was then the parson of your own parish of *Kelkampton* in *Cornwall*, which is a living of about 300*l.* per annum; and this you had freely bestowed on him without any other *simony* than an obligation from him to serve the Publick whenever you had occasion to make use of him; you having, even then, an eye upon his brother in *Scotland*, whom your family had obliged likewise. Now, Mr. Monk (who had not learned the artifice to dissemble the merits of mean men, (it being the first hour too of his coming to court) was so just to me, as to inform the King in your Lordship's presence, that he imparted his message, and communicated the concerns of so important an affair to me, (his brother's domestick Chaplain) at *Dalkeith*; and that he found that I entertained it willingly, and was careful and faithful in it; with sundry other *eulogies*, which the honest, plain-hearted, man, thought fit to give of me to his Majesty. To this relation the King gave such credit, that, after he had vouchsafed me the honour to *kiss his hand*, he was so pleased to tell me; that by this he well understood the service I had done him; and commanded me to make my application to him, as often as I desired his favour, or any preferment. And I soon after acquainted the General with these gracious expressions of the King's.

But, though your Lordship may have forgotten this, yet (I am sure) you can never forget how far, and to what end, you were engaged, when you sent Mr. Nicholas Monk into *Scotland* to his brother. And yet what has been already published as to this particular, has not met-with an universal credence; for many politick, and some spiteful, infidels there are, who will needs look upon General Monk's design to restore the King as a *Postnate-Juggle*, framed on purpose to salve his honour, and not to serve the ends of truth; reflecting upon it as not fit to be received into the annals of history; as a prosperous *chance*, as a *deodand*, not designed to enrich this or that particular coast, but only, by the winds and waves, driven thither.

Let

Let God have the glory ; for the gift was only his. But, if the wrath of man shall *praise* him, the loyalty of man shall both *praise* and *please* him. And loyal he was, even above the temptation of Sovereignty itself, as did afterwards fully appear. Nay, and so glorious was the atchievement also, that there was more in it than the single restoration of Charles the Second, even the recovery of lost monarchy to the Royal Family itself, to whom the *diadem* of right belonged, though at that time it was left a prey to *usurpers*, as they could play their game. He loved his Prince, and he loved his Country ; and, as a true *Englishman*, judged them to have one and the same Interest. And thus his actions justified his declarations, which were, “to reduce the military power in obedience to the civil;” the soldiers of *England* having, then, erected a distinct Interest from the people of it. Nor was it an easy matter to have reduced them, had not the army, by his most excellent conduct, (I will rather say, by a Divine) been divided, and set at odds.

N. B.

It now only remains (my Lord) that I deliver this Memorial to posterity under your patronage ; in which I purpose not to touch upon things known and allowed, any otherwise than barely for method's sake ; the stress of the controversy not depending upon them, but upon General Monk's designed loyalty to restore our Sovereign, and our Laws, to us. Now, because he was short-sighted, and could not discern objects at a distance, it has been suggested to me (more sarcastically than wittily) as if that imperfection had reached his Understanding also, and that he could not see so far, as to the restoring of the King.

Let others (who are as tender of the honour of the late Duke of Albemarle as I am, (and ought to be) contribute to the vindicating of his memory from this calumny, in what proportion, and with what solemnity of attestation they please, to gain credit. As for myself, being of an inferior rank, I do foresee that what I shall deliver will not, by a great many, easily be believed ; yea, I am, before-hand, threatened that it shall not. Whether it be upon the score of my fidelity and secrecy in that great affair, or of the prosperous close and issue of it in my deceased Lord, I shall not trouble myself to determine, against Spite and Prejudice ; but, contenting myself with the answer of

a good

a good conscience, that I have not forged things either to greaten his honour and loyalty, or to lessen it, by relating some few passages to which I was pirvy, or in which I acted ; (envy having pursued even a Fly upon this fortunate wheel of Revolution, though not making the noise of a *qualem* or *quantum pulverem*), I shall presume to pray your Lordship's protection of the ensuing Narrative, and of the unworthy author of it, who is,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's obliged

And devoted Servant,

JOHN PRICE.

THE
 MYSTERY AND METHOD
 OF HIS
 MAJESTY'S HAPPY RESTAURATION,
 &c.

AUGUST 1, 1659, Sir George Booth, (now Lord de la Mere) by Compact, at his Day appeared in Arms; (be it recorded to his eternal Honour) and sent-forth a brisk Declaration manifesting the Justice and Necessity of them. For at that Time the whole Nation groaned under the insupportable Servitude of the tyrannical *Oligarchy*, sitting at Westminster, under the notion of a *Parliament*; against whom a very powerful Combination was then made. Many of those who had formerly fought under them, complained that they were deceived; nay, and diverse, even then actually in their Service, were so ingenuous as to confess, that *that* could not be their Country's *Freedom*, where the worst of *Tyrannies*, under the Name of a *Commonwealth*, and the *Good Old Cause*,) were like to be perpetuated. And, however the great Officers might thrive whilst they were in Power; yet they saw full well, that their *Posterity* would be forced to pay-back to those licentious *Usurpers* whatever their *Ancestors* had got, should the Government still rest at an *Oligarchy*, which is, the Corruption of the worst of Governments, (a *Democracy*) and consequently the worst of *Tyrannies*. Thus we see that the State of *Three Kingdoms* was then most deplorable.

Of the Insurrection of Sir George Booth, in Cheshire, to obtain a Free Parliament.

The King compassionated their Condition: For himself had the greatest Share in the Calamity. And, though his

Royal person was safe from the Fury of his enemies, yet was he so near, that by his Authority he was still ready to contribute to the vindicating the just Rights of his *Subjects* and his *own*. To this end, there were constantly residing in London, some noble Persons of great Honour, and unwearied Loyalty, (in spite of Axes and Gibbets) after they had lost the Field, who were commissioned by his Majesty, both to hold Correspondence with him, and to issue-forth such Commands, from Time to Time, as Occasion should offer for his Majesty's service.

And the Occasion was eminent, now, upon the return of that *Thing* called a *Parliament*, who had been respited from their Power by the monarchical Interposition of their General, Oliver Cromwell, and his son; and that too by the Space of about five Years. This *Restitution* was mostly procured by the *Army*, who feared that a *National Interest*, like a Deluge, would have broken-in upon them, had they suffered Cromwell's Son, and his *Mock-Parliament*, to sit longer in Authority. And the Army's Pretences being for a *Commonwealth*, they had no nearer a Sanctuary to fly-unto, than this *Long Parliament*, as they called it, whose Guilt they knew to be at least equal with *theirs*, and their power to be distasted and abhorred by all that were not members of their own body, and even by some of them too; whereforé the *Presbyterian Party* began now at last to awaken into *Loyalty*, and chose rather to join with the *Cavaliers*, as they pretended, than to see their Country so enslaved. And, indeed, the *Cavaliers'* Condescensions quieted their Jealousies; for his Majesty's Commissioners consented that the Presbyterians should have the chief Command in all Places, and that their Declaration should only be for a Free Parliament, and against publick Grievances.

The Commanders of the intended Insurrections in other parts of England.

And now Sir George Booth, (since created Lord de la Mere) undertook for Cheshire, and the Counties adjacent; Sir Thomas Middleton, for North-Wales; Major-General Massey, for Gloucester and South-Wales; the Lord Fairfax for the North; the Lord Roberts (now Earl of Radnor, and President of the Council) for the West; Colonel Alexander Popham, and Colonel Robert Rolls, for Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire; Col. Norton, for Portsmouth and Hampshire; and Sir Horatio, (now Lord Townsend) for the Associated Counties; and in like

Manner

Manner diverse others in all Places throughout England, solemn Protestations and Assurances being given, that they would not fail each other.

Not long before this, Sir John Greenville, (the now Earl of Bath) who was one of those honourable Commissioners residing at London, for his Majesty's Service, had received a particular Commission to treat secretly and privately with General Monk, in Scotland. The King, it seems, having these Thoughts about him, "that, if a dexterous Application could be made to him, he might be gained to his Service, as having been in his Father's;" in which he was taken Prisoner, and his Releasement neglected. But the Parliament, having experienced his Usefulness and Conduct in Ireland against the Rebels there, set him at Liberty, and sent him back again thither into their Service; and afterwards Cromwell, who knew how to value a good Soldier, took him with him into Scotland.

Sir John Greenville, by an express Messenger, with a Letter in Cipher, directed to Chancellor Hide, at Brussels, (with whom only, by his Majesty's order, he was to correspond,) proposed the sending of Mr. Nicholas Monk to his Brother in Scotland; which was allowed. The King leaving the whole management of the Business to the Secrecy and Prudence of Sir John, who could not be said to have declined a Journey to the General in Scotland for the Danger of it; for he daily conversed with as great, as being one of his Majesty's Commissioners in town. Besides that, he and the Monks were Cousin-Germans, and both of them had been obliged either by himself or his family. However, sure I am, that he did the King and the General more Service in not coming to us; for his very Person, then, would have been suspected, though he had come without any Commission or Message. So he sent for Mr. Nicholas Monk out of Cornwall, to whom he imparted the King's Commission to treat with his Brother.

Mr. Monk, fraught with Hopes and Instructions, (the design of revolting from the Parliament being now universal too, and Sir George Booth actually in arms against their Authority, and Insurrections from all Counties in

Sir John Greenville sends the Rev. Mr. Nicholas Monk to his Brother General Monk, in Scotland, to solicit his Assistance to the King.

England, daily expected) embarked for Scotland, with a prosperous Gale, and, within few Days after, arrived at Leith, and so went from thence five Miles to Dalkeith, where the General resided. He gave-out, that the Intent of the Voyage was only to fetch his Daughter Mary, in order to the bestowing her in Marriage to her Advantage; hoping that his Brother would add some Weight and Encouragement to it. This Pretence for his Journey was real too, and so signified by Letters.

Colonel Atkins solicits General Monk to assist Sir George Booth's Insurrection.

Col. Jonathan Atkins, (who was afterwards knighted, and made Governor of Barbadoes) was now at Dalkeith, where he had been about two Days before Mr. Monk came to his Brother, and was preparing for his Journey further, to visit some Relations of his in Fife, having received his Answer from the General. For the Gentleman, either upon Confidence of the General's Loyalty, or of his Friendship and Interest in him, (they having been formerly Soldiers under the same Command in Ireland, and, I think, in Holland also) imparted to him the Designs of the Gentlemen of the North of England; who being ready, he said, to appear in the Quarrel, and to the Assistance of Sir George Booth, solicited the Help of his Arms, or, at least, that he would not disturb them in their Levies; to whom the General smartly returned, "that, if they did appear, he would send a force to suppress them, and that, by the Duty of his Place, he could do no less."

But the General refuses to do so.

The Colonel afterwards came to my Chamber, and propounded the Business in wary Terms, yet so as to be understood. But I unconcernedly replied, that to me it appeared, as if the Malcontents in England laboured only how to ruin themselves and their Cause; for, so long as London was the Magazine of Arms and Men, the Country-Plots, without it, could never prove very effectual for what, I supposed, he aimed-at; but, if that City could be engaged, (as it was discontented upon this Return of the Parliament,) and would shut-up their Gates, and rise as one Man; and had done so now, whilst Lambert was marching against Booth, the Design would carry a much better Prospect of Success than it did.

This Intrigue of Colonel Atkins (as being first in order of time) I relate before the Success of Mr. Monk's Message

sage

sage to his Brother; that so it may appear what Weight the King's Authority had with General Monk, though but verbally delivered by his Brother, he depending upon the Faith and Integrity of Sir John Greenville, and the Truth of his Brother's Relation; for he might well suppose, (wary as he was) that they did not deceive, nor would betray him. And I believe he relied upon the *Word* of a King as much as if he had actually received a Commission from his Majesty; for he told me afterwards, that he was resolved to *commission* the whole Scotch Nation against Parliament and Army and all, before he would be taken tamely by them; but he had no other Authority to do it, than this airy Word of Mouth, conveyed to him from Sir John Greenville, who had it in Writing from the King.

Mr. Monk found his Brother engaged in Business, and in several Dispatches too, though it was in the declining Part of the Day: And indeed it was rare to find him otherwise. So the General sent him to my Chamber, under the Conduct of a Highland Footboy in the House, who proclaimed his Arrival at my Study-Door. I courteously received him, and asked how Affairs stood in England; for Booth's being in Arms, and Lambert's march towards him, were now the common Entertainment of News. I soon perceived that he had a mind to say something to me; which he as soon disclosed; the Tenor whereof was, that he was sent to his Brother by Sir John Greenville, to invite him, in this Juncture of Time, to appear for his country, telling how the Design was laid, and universal in all Counties; and he did not doubt, he said, but that his Countrymen in the West had already made an Insurrection: adding further, that this was not barely a Combination, without Authority; for, though the King was not named in the Declaration that was sent-out for a Free Parliament, and against Taxes and Grievances complained-of, (some of which Declarations he ventured to bring with him) yet all this was done by his Majesty's Privity and Countenance; and therefore was he sent by his Cousin Greenville, to try if he could bring-over his Brother into the King's Service, and at this Time to espouse his Cause; and that Sir John Greenville hoped

The Message of Mr. Nicholas Monk to the General.

that his Brother might be as successful in it as was the famous Stanly, who determined the Day in Bosworth-Field, to Henry the Seventh, though he came thither to the Succour of Richard the Third. These were high hopes : but that which puzzled Mr. Monk was, that he knew not how to break this Message to his Brother ; but, if he would undertake so glorious a Work as the *restoring* of the King, no Encouragement, he was sure, would be awanting ; he might set-down his own Conditions, and the King would, upon his Royal Word, perform them. For he had seen his Majesty's Commission to Sir John Greenville to treat with his Brother : and indeed, in that Commission Sir John was left at large to promise, or assent-to, any Conditions of Reward ; but by his secret Instructions he was bound-up to the definitive Gratuity of 100,000*l.* *per Annum*, for ever, to be disposed-of at the General's Discretion. So Mr. Monk produced to me a broken piece, or two, of Money, as Tokens, if need were, to be sent with Letters of Correspondence to Sir John Greenville, but under the disguised Name of Mr. Legg.

The good Man spake in great Secrecy and Earnest ; and seemed to press upon me, upon my Allegiance, to hearken to his Proposals, and to accept of his broken Tokens ; he promising me, that, whatsoever Letters should be sent to Sir John Greenville, the Messenger who brought them, and either of those Tokens, should be more than paid for his Journey.

So I perceived his Embassy was real. But it strangely surprised me ; and I went often to the Door of my Chamber, as being apprehensive lest any body should over-hear him. I paused awhile, and then asked him why he imparted a Message of so great concern, (and which was to his Brother too) *first* to me ; for I had never seen him before, and then not half an hour. He returned, that though he did not know me, yet he had understood who I was, and what thoughts were conceived of me ; as if I could not but have an inward and true Affection for the King and his Service ; it being very notorious that *Mine* had been a greater Sufferer for *his Majesty's Father* : And so indeed he was, even to the Loss of All ; for otherwise, I had not then been found in that Employment. And it
seems

seems I was so well known in Scotland, as soon as I came there, that some of the Remonstrating Clergy, and of our own Officers too, told the General, that he had entertained a Cavalier for his Chaplain. And he was so kind as to tell me of this, and give me good Counsel upon it : But I am not, to this day, conscious that ever I discovered myself, or gave them any distaste by word ; tho' my Actions were not a little Offensive, I believe, in regard that several of the Montrossian Party would apply themselves to me, as an Intercessor for Ordinary Favours from the General.

Mr. Monk pressed for instructions how to open this message to his brother : I told him, that his brother must be satisfied of his secrecy, as well as of his love and fidelity to him ; for that an affair of this importance must sleep in as few breasts as might be ; and that he would find, that he would put himself, his brother, and his Negotiation for the King, into a very great hazard, should he (relying upon characters given of the secret Loyalty of any persons among us) attempt to make any more such rude communications of his Embassy. But that he had revealed this great secret to me, I was content (I said) that he should tell his Brother ; which I knew he did.

Now, to encourage him, I told him, that I did believe his brother would be willing to close with any fair overture to redeem his Country from the Slavery of the Army, under which it groaned ; that he had been many ways disobliged since the return of this Old Parliament ; and that Officers of the more extravagant sort of Principles had been encouraged by commands given them, in open contempt of his Recommendatory Letters in favour of others ; so that he talked often of living a private Life in Ireland : And further, that there were many jealous eyes upon him, which the Cavaliers, who had been formerly of his acquaintance, had given much the occasion of : for that sometimes he received letters from Holland, by a Dutch-Skipper, minding him of his Allegiance ; which he was forced openly to protest against, as prudently supposing, that there might be a snare in them.

Nay, Oliver Cromwell himself, not long before his

death, writ once to him with his own hand ; and in the Letter there was this Drolling Expression : “ ’Tis said, there is a cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who lyes in wait there to serve Charles Stuart ; pray use your dilligence to take him, and send him up to me, &c.” And this, I suppose, gave the rise to a trifling Report that Cromwell could not get him out of Scotland. Withal, I told Mr. Monk, that his brother was but a new man, brought-in by Cromwell, into the English Army, and so was disrelished by most of the great Officers of it : and that those that were heads of distinct Factions, did rather hate than affect him, and would contribute to give him a Lift out of his Command, could they have an opportunity to do it : and this did afterwards appear to be true, when Col. Cobbet was sent-down to Scotland, upon the very disturbance of the Parliament by Lambert, before any notice could be returned that the General was dissatisfied with it ; which was no more yet than what himself foresaw : But the Soldiers, who troubled not their heads with Religion, by abetting Parties, but fought for their Pay, did generally love him ; for they looked upon him as a good Soldier, and a discreet Commander, under whom they might safely Engage ; and of these he could at any time make a good Party, when it might be judged fit and safe to appear.

Of Mrs. Monk, the
General's Wife.

Besides, I thought it not amiss to insinuate, that his Wife had, in some degree, prepared him to appear, when the first opportunity should be offered. For her custom was (when the General's, and her own, work, and the day were ended) to come into the Dining-room to him, in her *Treason-Gown*, (as I called it) I telling him, that, when she had that Gown on, he should allow her to say any thing. And, indeed, her tongue was her own then, and she would not spare it ; insomuch that I, who still chose to give my attendance at those hours, (the General being alone) have often shut the Dining-room Doors, and charged the Servants to stand without, till they were called-in. 'Tis easy to conceive what her discourses were, when a Woman that had Wit enough, and always Influence, and sometimes (as it was thought) too much, upon

upon her Husband, (the Theme being so copious too) might safely talk extravagancies, in confidence that they would go no further.

Sometime the General would make bad faces, and seem to be uneasy in hearing her, and oft address himself to me; as if I were to moderate at the act: To whom I have as oft returned, "Sir, what shall I say? she speaks such unhappy truths, that neither you, nor I, can gainsay them." I cannot forget his usual answer. "True, Mr. Price (would he say); but I have learned a Proverb, that he who follows Truth too close upon the Heels, will, one Time or other, have his Brains kicked-out." His Lady usually withdrew before the family was called to Prayers, and then I had an opportunity to talk over the same things, in softer language, (as became me); by which I very well understood his meaning, when he would express a concern for the unhappiness of the late King, and name some instances in which he miscarried: He would say, "that he had Armies indeed of brave Men; but they were too great to be commanded: and fewer Men, under better discipline, would have done his business. But that he would never forget, nor forgive, his not fighting the Scots, when they first invaded England. in 1638. That he imputed all the shedding of blood since that time, to the foolish (as he called it) sparing of it then; and that the Scots did deservedly suffer what they did." I have purposely noted these things, that it might appear that there were previous dispositions in the General to serve the King and his Country, whenever he should conceive it proper to declare: and indeed his zeal to serve both was so very forward, that he had like to have lost himself by it, and those who were engaged with him, and to have blasted that miraculous Restoration of his Sovereign, which was afterwards effected by his renowned Conduct. An Atchievement which former Ages (all circumstances being put into the ballance) have not equalled, and I do despair of the future.

Thus Mr. Monk and I, after an hour's acquaintance or more, (having discoursed of serious and dangerous things) grew to be familiar; and we refreshed ourselves with a glass of Wine, and with Hopes. Mr. Monk had also his Prophecies of comfort; and told me, that his
Grand-

General Monk used to speak of the misfortunes of King Charles the First with an affectionate concern.

Grand-Father was a Spend-thrift, and had wasted much of their Paternal Estate (I think his name was Sir Anthony Monk) but that it was prophesied to him (by some cunning Man, I must suppose) that a Grand-Child of his should make the Estate far greater than ever his Ancestors left it him. And another, that the King should come-in by a Monk: which he might understand of the Name, as he did of the Profession. I desired him to mingle his Prophecies with his Instructions to his brother. Nor was I without my Prophecies too, viz. that, if this Great Confederacy did prosper, we could not expect much more than a circumscribed and limited King. And yet I am apt to believe too, that the army could have made His Majesty as Arbitrary even as the Grand Seignior himself, upon the assurance of a reward proportionable to the merit of the service; nay, and they might (probably) have been well enough disposed that way, upon a right judgement of things; it being evident that the great Officers of the Army could never be safe under any Government, but a Monarchical; to which their own thwarting Ambition had so far reconciled them (at least some whom I knew) that they would usually say, that, if they must have a single person to govern the nation, they would rather give their vote, that Charles Stuart should be the Man, than any other; whereas they knew that a Democracy (however boundless in its own power) would always be jealous of them, and shift them out of their commands. In this particular Lambert had much the advantage of Monk: This had been his true and proper Interest, and of those under him at Newcastle, could they have trusted the King, and one another; and Lambert had warning given him, after he had disturbed the Parliament, that, if he did not design to bring-in the King, his own Projects would evaporate into smোক. But the greatest obstruction on the King's side was, that, though in Law he was our Only and Rightful King, yet it was not then known how far he would Pardon; not could I, for all Mr. Monk's Errand to his Brother, foresee how far the Church would be Restored, if the King was. But I saw that the good man had adventured himself upon a dangerous Message; and so did deserve well, could he induce

The Sentiments of many Officers of the Army concerning the Settlement of the Nation.

induce his Brother to close with this Overture for the King; which if he should be able to effect, I told him that I did not then doubt but that I could procure, that he should be Provost of Eton College; and I was as good as my word to him; the General afterwards, at my request, using the interest of Sir John Greenville to do it: And that for myself, I would endeavour to succeed in Mr. Hale's Fellowship there; which the Noble Earl of Northampton (who had been an Eton Scholar) obtained for me. This I mention in gratitude to his Honour, as being done without Application to him: But I mark it yet more solemnly, to attribute it to a superior disposal of us: and of me more especially; for the General, upon the King's Return, bound me up to wait his leisure for preferment, with promises of after-provision for me. So much for dividing the Bear's skin; now we are to kill the Bear.

It was by this time Evening, when the General used to be alone: But when Mr. Monk and I came into the Dining-room, we found that several Officers from Leith and Edinburgh had not yet received their Dispatches; one of whom took me aside, and asked me, how it was that the General's Brother came to see him now? What Intelligence came from London I cannot tell; but this I can, that designs of this nature were not so carefully concealed as they ought to have been: however, I did seemingly satisfy the busy Enquirer, with a pretence of his Daughter's Marriage; whose fate it was to be unfortunate in the Overture of Matches. So we left the General, as yet, to the work of his place. This Jealousie did somewhat startle Mr. Monk; and indeed Colonel Atkins, and he, being both in the House at a time, were too many. Mr. Monk would have had me be with him at the opening of his Embassy to his Brother; which I refused, as fearing the mischief of it, and knowing the Reservedness of the General. But I gave him Instructions, (such as I thought fit) how to insinuate this Errand, and told him, that I would watch the time to do my part in it. The General went late to Bed that Night; where I believe I left him to take little Rest; but I took no Notice of what his Brother either *had* said, or *was* to say, to him. And
for

for what I was to say, having asked his Leave to speak and obtained it, I told him, that the things I was to speak of were of great moment, and I could not say any thing, unless he would promise to give me no Answer; telling him, that so, if he judged me either imprudent, or that I should be treacherous, I could have no Advantage upon him, though he might of me; and I perceived this did not dislike him. The substance of what I said was, that I knew he had the *Heart* of an *Englishman* to pity his Country, and the *Courage* to redeem it from Slavery; and I knew that he had *Wisdom* enough to judge of Things, whether he had an Opportunity to do it or no.

General Monk approves of the Enterprize of Sir George Booth.

The next day before noon, Mr. Monk came to my Chamber, with the glad News that his Brother liked the Plot; and much the better, because the Presbyterians were concerned in it, naming several of them to me, and not forgetting his Cousin Morrice also. But he was most satisfied that the Lord Fairfax was engaged; with whom, afterwards, he kept correspondence. Colonel Atkins was now gone to make a Visit farther in the Country, but returned to us the week after. Thus I found that the General stood engaged; and from this Time I do date, that his Resolutions were fixed for the King's *Restoration*. So happy it was for his Majesty to employ Sir John Greenville, and so lucky for him to send his Clerk, Mr. Nicholas Monk, hither; where he omitted nothing of his Instructions, and prudently managed them, as may reasonably be inferred from the good effect they had. Thus did the sense of *Allegiance*, and the Love of his Country prevail with his Brother against all hazards; and, if I knew him right, the Revenge for *Slights* was some part of a Grain in the Scales. And further, it is not improbable that he had been, in the night, quickened with a Curtain-Lecture of Damnation; a Text that his Lady often preached upon to him; and sometimes he would complain of it, where he safely might.

The Rev. Mr. Gumble comes to General Monk's quarters at Dalkeith.

Saturday came, and brought Mr. Gumble to Dalkeith; where, now and then, he used to give the General a Sermon or two, and so eased me, for which I gave him Thanks. He was then one of the Chaplains of the Junta which

which Cromwell had erected ; and which did act till the Deposition of Richard, his Son ; nay, the Officers were still continued upon that Establishment, in Expectation of what the Parliament would do in it. Such a Cabal they found necessary for the Support of their *Usurpation*, and hereof the General, from the Time of its first Erection, was nominated a Member. So Mr. Gumble's Employment was such as made him well known ; beside that he was an acceptable Preacher, and his Company much more so, to very many Officers of Edinburgh, where he resided ; and this the rather, both to them and the General, because he had not engaged into a Congregational Church, as his Brother Chaplains had done. He was a strenuous Asserter of Freedom, and disrelished the single Persons of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, when they sat successively on the Throne of Usurpation. He was somewhat better pleased at the Return of the old Parliament : but, being of quick Apprehension, he soon discerned that those few Members of it intended to keep themselves within those Walls of Empire at Westminster, and not suffer the Wheel to turn-round ; and, as a generous Person, he did not dissemble his discontents, but would speak them frankly and boldly enough to the General. And this too, was the ground of Sir George Booth's Quarrel.

So the General, (who knew how to make use of Men) after some Conference with him, made him his Minister of State ; and, having received instructions how to proceed, he came-up to my Study, where he found me then busy and alone. So he bid me lay-aside all Thoughts of Preaching, for to-morrow ; for he would undertake it for me. Now at that Time there happened to be other Work upon my Hands which required a quick Dispatch : for I was transformed into a Secretary of State ; my province being to frame a Letter to the Parliament, according to Directions given, which was to be signed by the General, and such of the Officers as he could bring into this new Design. But Mr. Gumble said, he was not fully satisfied of the Grounds of the General's Engagement, now, after his Brother was come ; for he might have done that sooner : and, if he had, I am confident that

General Monk advises with Mr. Gumble on political measures.

Gen. Monk causes a Declaration of himself, and some of the Officers of his Army, to be drawn-up, in order to be presented to the Parliament, recommending to the Parliament the establishment of a full and free Parliament.

that Mr. Gumble would not have been wanting, on his Part, to serve the Publick. But I told him, that Mr. Nicholas Monk's Journey was for his Daughter, and it was necessary to try what his Brother would contribute towards her Marriage, the Match being to be with a Kinsman of theirs, which the General had desired and approved. So the Motives of this Engagement being waved, (for Mr. Gumble did not insist upon them as a Hindrance to the good Cause in which he was resolved to embark himself) we proceeded to the finishing of the Letter to the Parliament; which was that Day done.

General Monk, with four other trusty persons, take an oath of Secrecy towards each other.

The next was the *Lord's-day*: and the work of it was carried-on by Mr. Gumble, who, in his last Prayer, put-up a Petition for the good Intentions of the General; which soon after were communicated in my Chamber; whither came the General and his Brother, Adjutant Smith, and Mr. Gumble. But, before any discourse was enter'd-upon, I swore the General (his hands being laid upon the Bible open) in these words. *You shall truly swear, that you shall not reveal any thing that shall be discoursed-of by us, or read unto you, without the consent of all here present.* So he kissed the Book. The other persons I swore in order, one by one, after this manner. *You shall truly swear that you shall not reveal any thing that shall be discoursed-of, or read unto you, without the consent of the General, and all here present.* And, lastly; I swore myself; and I will be my own Casuist for publishing of this; and keep the Bible for a Relique, without fear of Superstition.

The substance of the said Declaration.

Our Declaration in deed, but, in form, our Letter, or Supplication, to the Parliament; was read; 'tis supposed to have been prefaced with good words, clawing them for their glorious actions, which we could not avoid doing. But yet we took the liberty to mind them that we found the body of the English Nation dissatisfied with their proceedings, as apprehending that their intention was to appropriate the Government to their Individual persons; and that, though there might possibly be something of danger in gratifying them, for fear of the old Enemy; yet, however, it did not appear to the good People, who had

had fought for their Liberty, that they had entertain'd any thought of the filling-up of their Number ; much less had they done any thing toward the prescribing of Rules for the future Elections of such Parliaments as were supposed to be contained under the name of a Commonwealth, which themselves owned to be the Supream Government ; and that otherwise their Armies could not protect them in their authority ; this not being the *good old Cause* for which they fought. And they could not answer to their consciences the effusion of so much blood to uphold only a few men in their Sovereignty. Wherefore, to prevent the shedding of more, we became Petitioners to them (we said) that they would speedily pass such votes, and do such things, as might satisfie all the honest and Godly People in the Nation, that they did not design their own greatness, but the good and safety of the Commonwealth.

In the mean time, the General declared that he would associate what force he could, till he saw that their Votes and actions were satisfactory. Here I confess that I have not related words, but things ; for the Paper was the next day burnt, because our design proved abortive. This was the Substance of our intended Letter to the Parliament, which having been read by me, (the General, with his Confederates, correcting or adding such expressions as were thought fit) the presenting of it to the Officers of our Army to sign, as their humble Petition and Advice to the Parliament, was resolved-upon. But they were to be Petitioners with Swords in their hands ; for the General gave immediate order to Adjutant Smith to go that night to Edinburgh and Leith, and to secure the Castle of the one, and the Citadel of the other ; (he relying upon the discretion and fidelity of this Adjutant in the management of so important an Affair) for we did not doubt but that Captain Clifton (the Governor of the Castle) would be ours ; and we were as sure that Hughes and Miller in Leith were devoted to the General's Service. And he was most confident of his Adjutant, that he would not fail in the Execution of his trust, as having, for some years, been received into his special Favour and Friendship: And this was the hour of his probation. So the General, having a while discoursed with us, left his orders to the Adjutant
to

to hasten to Horse ; for it was not above an hour to night : but himself descended my Stairs, having other, and more secret, designs to fetch-in assistance to this new Enterprize. But long he had not left us, before he came-up again, where he found us still discoursing of the affair in hand, and our engagement in it. His Adjutant was now ready to leave us to Execute his Orders ; but the General stopped him and bespake us, Thus :—*Gentlemen, it will be no great prejudice to our business, if we wait for the Information of the next Post : for Lambert is marched towards Booth, and by this time is ready to Face him ; and then we shall know whether Booth hath that force with him that 'tis said he hath, and what likelihood there is of the Action, by any farther Assistance.* 'Twas our duty, and it was fit for us, to yield to the General's Prudence , who understood things of this nature better than we did or could. But it was a rashness in me, (which to this day I do not forgive myself,) to sollicite the General afresh : for he had not long left us the second time, but I took the opportunity to steal-down after him, whom I found close in discourse with Gradenker, an honest Montrosian, and a good Grey-Hound-Master ; the latter of which qualities had before recommended him to the General's Friendship. I stood at a distance, perceiving the conference was serious, till he would be at leisure to speak with me ; and, seeing me, he soon was : To whom, I (being impatient of all delays, and thinking every minute lost in which we were not visible upon the Stage of so Noble an attempt) addressed myself with some sort of forwardness, and told him of the danger (as I foolishly thought) of the delay, and that his Brother had come to us already with the latest. The General (I can never forget his posture of answering me) laid his hands on my Shoulders, frowned, and paused ; and then in some anger, spake thus (Gradenker being at a good distance) "*What ! Mr. Price, (said he) will you then bring my Neck to the Block for the King, and ruin our whole design, by engaging too rashly ?*" To whom I returned with submission, "*Sir, I never named the King to you, either now or at any other time. But he dismissed me thus*"

Well,

"Well, I know you have not ; but I know you, and have understood your meaning." Now the manner of my Addresses to him used to be "for our known Laws and Liberties, propounding the attempt as a thing which would render him renowned to all Posterity and make the Three Nations happy:" For in those days I durst not name *Kingdoms*, for the danger of the Relation. So that night he slept (or did not) in expectation of the Post ; which came the next Morning Six Hours, at least, sooner than ordinary, and brought us the glad tydings that Sir George Booth was beaten, and routed. Good news fly apace, and by Noon several Officers (and those the most considerable of the Sectarian Sort) came to rejoyce, and dine with the General ; but his Ordinary Table served for a Thanks-giving-Dinner for them. Mr. Monk, Mr. Gumble, and Adjutant Smith, had the good Fortune to dine abroad ; but my duty was to be at the General's Table, where I heard the expressions of joy that passed from Officer to Officer, for the total defeating of Sir George Booth : and that the mercy was **not** ordinary ; for the greatest part of the Gentry of England (they said) were engaged in it ; and that their old Friends (naming the Presbyterians) were more forward in the action, than their old Enemies, the Cavaliers. And that it was apparent that Booth, and his Confederates, would have brought-in Charles Stuart. Upon this the General gave them the Complement of a Thanksgiving-day, that he could wish that the Parliament would make a Law that, whoever should but mention the Restoring of him, should presently be hanged. I had reason to think that he was but in jest ; otherwise, I could guess where the Hanging lay. But to let posterity see how far the Parliament's Reformation had prevailed against the Liturgy, and Bishops ; a very intricate Case of Conscience was put, before Dinner, *whether he could be a Godly Man, that prayed the same Prayer twice*. Some were for the Negative ; but others said they durst not be so peremptory. At Dinner the madness continued, and the Joy increased ; insomuch that, in their Jollity, they fell to Scoffing at the Name of Priest : Nay, and even the Presbyterian himself

News is received of the defeat of Sir George Booth's Insurgents by General Lambert.

Many of the Officers of General Monk's army are greatly rejoiced at it.

would no longer down with him for a Gospel Minister, but he had also his Leaven of Popery. At last one Captain Poole, of Colonel Fairfax's Regiment, spake (his Mouth being open) that *there could never be a quiet and lasting settlement in these Nations, so long as there was a Parish-Priest, or a Steeple-House left.* Upon which extravagancy of Thanksgiving-Recreations, the General (who would keep his reserves with men) did not, or, rather, would not, do it here; but, in an unexpected indignation, rose from his Chair and spoke to the amazement of all. *Fair and softly* (says he) *Captain Poole; if you and your Party once come to pluck there, I will pluck with you.*" Whereupon there was a sudden damp; they were but Soldiers before their General, and were silent; and thus concluded the Mirth and the Thanksgiving-Dinner. But the General, and those who were engaged with him, either kept, or, I am sure, ought to have done, a more Festival Evening; for a sober and sincere Thanksgiving became us, such as was exclusive of the Hypocrite; for we durst not act the Pharisee. And, reflecting upon this deliverance (as I oft have done) I once asked the General what he thought should have become of us, had the tidings of Lambert's beating of Booth surprised us in the very first appearance of our design; when it had been impossible for us (our counsels being put into Action) to have made any safe retreat? He seemed gently to remind me of my importunity with him; but I must not forget his *Cæsarean* Return, which, was, *I doubt not, but I could have secured to myself the Castle of Edinburgh and Citadel of Leith; some Officers, and many Soldiers would have followed me; and then I would have commissioned the whole Scottish Nation to rise.* This I believe, they would have done at his Whistle: for after the beating of Sir George Booth, they began to be desperate, and saw that the whole frame of a National Church was like to be lost. Several of their own Country-men would not be kept within the bounds of Discipline: Swinton Osborne, and others, tacked about timely for Quakers, as that which was most likely to be the thriving Sect: the Principles of it being such, that they put no

Rules

rules to the conscience, but only breathed the Air, and lived in the region, of Enthusiasm. It was a Trojan Horse of all Heresies; every man might be of this comprehensive Religion with a Salvo to his own; a Jew and a Jesuit might stand with his Hat on his Head, for the Light within him; and all Practical Villanies might have come-in under this Shelter.

I told the General, that, if things did continue in this State much longer, it would be found that the Quaker would be as great a Goad in the sides of our new Sects, as ever the Old Puritan was to the Church of England. For about this time came several Quakers from England, who were cunning Seminaries of this new Faith; and some of them came to our Head Quarters, and taught Doctrines not to be believed by Soldiers, of the unlawfulness of such a bloody calling. They were all Sheep and Doves, to receive, and not do, injuries. Once it was my ill luck to meet with two of them in the General's and his Lady's presence, when they were upon the Theme of parting with their Coat and Cloak also. His Lady very pleasantly forced me to stand the Brunt of their Folly, to whom I had no other Answer to return, but that they might have another Light within them, one day; which was, *that he that hath no Sword, let him sell his Garment, and buy one.* Afterwards there was a number of them in Lambert's Army in Newcastle, as it was related to us; where they bargained for, and sold Horses, to be paid when such or such a Steeple-House (in our Language a Church) was pulled-down.

It was now high time for the General to look-out for a Religion for himself, though it was a Principle that the Marquis of Argile had taught, that *it was the Character of a wise man, not to let the World know of what Religion he was.*

But the General's Lady found him out one; for now she declares "Mr. Monk is a Presbyterian, and my Son Kit is for the Long Parliament and the Good Old Cause. This soon found it's Operation; for the Clergy of Scotland made their Addresses to the General as their Patron. They were of two sorts, the Public Resolutionists, and the Remonstrators. The division took its rise in this manner.

General Monk declares himself to be a Presbyterian.

Of the two sects of
Presbyterians, the
Resolutionists and
the *Remonstrants*.

After the Battle of Dunbar was fought, and lost by the Scotch Subjects, *An.* 1650, (which consisted only of those who had taken the solemn League and Covenant) it came to a Debate whether they might not, without breach to their Covenant, strengthen their Allegiance to the King by taking-in a convenient number of their Fellow-Subjects, who had fought for his Royal Father under the Marquis of Montross against the Covenanters; it was voted that (since they were reduced to unexpected streights) their assistance might be accepted, and they might be admitted into the King's Service, without damage to the cause of God and the Kirk; this was the Judgement of the Major Part of the Clergy, and prevailed, But there were some, who (their Consciences being more nice) remonstrated against this Resolution, as ungodly; which, by the Artifice of the Marquis of Argyle, was fomented; and so the Party withdrew. This became a feud so irreconcilable, even when the whole Kingdom of Scotland was under the English Obedience, that they would not converse, or receive the Sacrament, each with other. It was once told the General; that at Leith, there being a Boat ready to go-off for Fife, a *remonstrating* Minister stepped-in; but, seeing a *Resolutioner* of his Coat there, he went-out, and would rather lose his Passage than sail in the same Boat with him. This Division I have the rather mentioned, because it may be a Word in season to those whom it may concern, to beware of the heats and pendency of such Ecclesiastick Enthusiasts, who do so much contribute to the ruin of Kingdoms; and sometimes are destructive to their own Societies. These men, apart (keeping Intelligence each upon another, that they might not meet) did make their frequent visits to the General, being now a declar'd Presbyterian; laid-open the lamentable condition of the Kirk of Christ, and implored his care and Patronage of it; who gave them such comfortable words as his Station would permit him then to use.

The end of Mr. Nicholas Monk's Embassy to his Brother, was now frustrated; and it being so, it created some diffidence of his prudence and secresie. In Negatives I can avouch for no man, but myself; and, under the awe of the Searcher of hearts, I do write and declare, that the

secret

secret slept within my breast till after the King was restored, and actually returned; and next, I do think so well of Mr. Monk's care and prudence, that he did not in Scotland communicate it to any but his Brother and me; for so, upon his return, he told Sir John Greenville. But so it was, that there were suggestions of Information, or rather of Temptation to the General, that the good man was like to be sacrificed. But this went no further; either that the suggesters would not stand the Test, or that the probation would be injurious to more than one: However I do conjecture, there could have been found no other guilt in Mr. Monk, than the curiosity of the Suggester.

This was a time of Hearsays and Discoveries of Plots: for all Action ceased upon Booth's Defeat. Mr. Gumble makes his frequent visits to Dalkeith, to hear and report news; keeps his correspondence with Scot, Secretary of State, (to whom he was known when he was Vicar of Wickham in Buckinghamshire) and by him understood how affairs went at London, and what jealousies began to arise between the Parliament and Army, and some of the more eminent Members and Officers of both; makes his advantage of them, and adds fuel to the fire.

I was taken into his Counsel sometimes, and employed to write; so we sent Letters by the Post, either with no name at all, or what name we thought fit; and this was a divertisement, thus to play in the blind with the Grandees, and to tell them those Things, which themselves knew could not be revealed but by their treacherous Confidants.

The General now saw the Usefulness and Interest of Mr. Gumble, and the danger of disobliging him; wherefore he was retained as his Confident; insomuch that, when the General appeared against the Army for disturbing the Parliament, the Action was looked-upon as proceeding merely upon Mr. Gumble's Advice. This was rather the General's Protection than otherwise; for had it been insinuated, that his Engagement proceeded from any sinister hand, he would have found at home, among his own Officers, that Suspicions would have more increased upon him. But Gumble was looked-upon as the *only* Man,

and so represented by Mr Welsh from Leith to Wallingford-House, who suggested, that, had it not been for him, George Monk had never stirred.

Mr. Nicholas Monk was preparing to return with his Daughter by Sea, as he came; but, before he went, we heard of the triumphant Return of Lambert to his Masters at Westminster, who employed him to command in chief in the expedition against Booth; which proved a Conquest easier than it was once thought it would have been. The Spoil was not yet divided; nor was their Soldiery content with what only appeared to be a Prey; that is, the Forfeiture of those Gentlemen's Estates, who, in defence of their ancient Laws and Liberties, were found in the Field. Wherefore a Clamour was raised, and a Supplication framed, to bring those to condign Punishment, who had, in any measure, or to any degree, assisted in Booth's Conspiracy, or could be detected as conscious of it. And, had this Inquisition been made, and a Sequestration passed upon it, this After-harvest would have been worth more pounds, than the former publick Sales of the King's and Church Land; (as the gleanings of the Grapes of Ephraim were better than the Vintage of Abiezer), and how far this change of the face of things would have conduced to fix a new Interest, I leave to be judged.

Though it became the Army to leave this Inquisition after Delinquency to the Parliament, yet the frame of this Petition seemed just; that they might not be always exercised with the fears of the Common Enemy. But there was a hidden intrigue in it, to pick a Quarrel with their Masters; for even some of them had not utterly lost the Consciences of Englishmen, and were loath to have the Government of the Commonwealth monopolized into so few hands; nay, and those of them which yet favoured of Presbytery, were themselves suspected for a sort of Delinquents.

The General foresaw whither this application of the Soldiery tended; and very pleasantly told me, *I see now that I shall have a better game to play than I had before.* His expression was, *I know Lambert so well, that I am*
sure

sure he will not let those People at Westminster, sit till Christmas-day.

October was begun, when Mr. Monk left Dalkeith, and he went from us too with the character of an Envoy ; for he was to assure the Parliament of his Brother's fidelity to them, and that he would stand firm to their Interest and Authority, against all opposition whatsoever. I parted with him upon the Sands of Leith, not without some grief and reflection upon our distracted country ; charging him to sollicit for the prayers of good men. I named unto him Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon, who were upon the information given me, actually Bishops ; but it seems I was deceived : So we comforted ourselves, that God had in reserve his appointed seasons of Mercy. But the General, about this time, found encouragement from the Host of Heaven : And a Scotch Nobleman came to him, and told him plainly (after much Discourse with him) that the King would be restored, and that within some few months ; that he looked upon him as a principal instrument toward the effecting of it : and that not a drop of Blood should be spilt in the action. This was the Earl of Nithisdale, whom I do not remember to have seen ever before with the General ; for his Religion rather required his retirement, than converse ; and this the General informed me of ; and of the Earl's prophetic apprehensions, that there should not be the blood of a cut Finger in the action ; he spoke it merrily, and therefore was assured of his share in it.

But at the Cockpit I have heard him tell it at large : Consonant hereunto I have a Paper (among others) by me, of one Mrs. Katherine Johnson's, (a Copy of which was by her delivered to Cromwell.) I am very well satisfied of the truth of the delivery ; I knew the Gentlewoman, she being of a good Family : and I can witness, that, when she was in my House (for she was related to me) she spent much time in Fasting and Prayer. The words of the paper are these ;—“ *Great General ! All the power of the World is in your hands : therefore let humility be your guide ; for none shall correct you but God : The Lord gives, and the Lord takes-away ; blessed be his name : have peace with all men ; refuse none.* In the 16th Year of King Charles his Reign, I delivered him a Manuscript,

Mr. Nicholas Monk returns to England.

The Earl of Nithisdale prophecies to General Monk, that the King shall be restored.

A Prophecy of the like kind had been made to Oliver Cromwell by Mrs. Johnson, in the year 1653

wherein I told him of his destruction; but he took none of my Counsel, though I was sent from God. As for the Scotch King (as he is called) his right, here, must be in peace, not by the Sword. I can say more, if I be called to an account; but what I say is by Faith, and I shall justify it with my life. June the 18th." I conceive the Year was 1653.

I shall not undertake the vindication of the Nobleman, or the Prophetess, but only, *in transitu*, relate matter of fact, till the English make us work. That which Mrs. Johnson forewarned the late King of was, not to sign the Bill for the death of the Earl of Strafford; which the good King afterward repented of. And though she had the fate of Cassandra, not to be believed; yet Mr. Lenthal (the Speaker) who was satisfied of the truth of this, gave such credit to her warning of him to beware of the Oath of Abjuration against the Royal Family, that he absented himself from the House for about ten days, under the pretence of the Gout: And she assured him he should be forgiven for what else he had done against the King.

Another Prophecy concerning General Monk by Dr. Layborn.

The prognostick of Doctor Layborn is very well known, who told the General "that he should command in the North, and afterwards in all England," which the Doctor owned to me, and for which the General owed him a respect; for he would ponder on the fancy, and not altogether neglect the belief of them: But possibly the Man had more credit with him than the Prophecy. I know, when he was in Scotland, speaking of the infelicities that did attend the King's Family, he was told that the King, after the Twenty-Ninth Year of his Age, had very benign Aspects, pointing at his Restauration: And he who told him this, added somewhat more: So much of I know not what to I know not whom; desiring in the first place, that the Reporter may be believed; and next, that the virtuosos of Infidelity would not look upon this as a Paralogism; for when a Man foretells me three things, two whereof are already come to pass, he may, without a tincture of levity, be believed for a third: Nay, and I know a fourth and a fifth.

Mr. Monk was now safely arrived at London, to give an account of his Old Embassy, and to impart his New.—

The

The Old appertained to Sir John Greenville, who sent him into Scotland. To him he said " he could give no other account, than that he could give none at all; for that he was under an Oath of Secrecy : but that he had delivered his Message to the General, his Brother, and that he had imparted it to none besides but to me." Sir John thought this was enough, and immediately acquainted the King with it; his Majesty being then at Brussels. This gave encouragement to Sir John Greenville, afterwards to treat personally with the General, which he was resolved to do; waiting the occasion for it; which in the process of a few Months, was happily offered; and his negociation accepted, and effected.

Mr. Nicholas Monk's new Credentials from his Brother were to be imparted to Dr. Clargis; which were, that the General would resolutely adhere to the Parliament, and declare for their cause, if he found any disturbance given against them. This was so well managed by the Dr. (who was now become Agent for the Scotch and Irish Armies) though Mr. Monk came but just time enough, that the Men at Westminster in sense of the General's Fidelity, and in requital of his offered kindness, (when they saw they must yield to Lambert's Ambition) in an expiring Vote of Revenge, before their Authority suffered a second Rape, constituted him about the Seventh part of a Generalissimo: which was the Power by which he seemed afterward to act, and give Commissions.

On the 11th of October Lambert brake-up the House-Keeping of his Masters at Westminster; for it was now high time to allow their Servants the Priviledge of Persian Slaves, viz. To feast upon Sovereignty. So he began his Christmas sooner than the General thought he would; but not sooner than he was provided for him; for his provident frugality in Scotland, had laid up some Thousands for the Pay of his Army, if, upon any sudden disturbance in England, he could not be relieved from thence, that so he might keep his Soldiers in obedience to him. And without a spirit of Prophecy, he did easily foresee this change.

Three Kingdoms for about 17 years (by our Civil War)
had

Mr. Nicholas Monk arrives at London, and gives Sir John Greenville an account of his Message to General Monk.

And he communicates to Dr. Clargis the resolutions of General Monk, to support the authority of the Parliament.

General Lambert dissolves the Parliament by military force.

The Army sets up a
Committee of Safety.

had been deprived of a just Government; or the plenary exercise of it: But now they groaned under a fatal Anarchy; which to supply, a Tumultuary Junto was set-up, called a *Committee of Safety*.

Here I shall not forget to contribute to the Memory of Mr. Hales (once a Fellow of Eaton) who told me, after the Battle of Naseby, that he saw now that Fairfax's Army would master both King and Parliament too; and rule as the Roman Emperors, or Generals, in despite of the Senate: Adding, that I might live to see it, but he, as he hoped, was going to his grave.

A remarkable Dream
of Mrs. Monk.

At this time the General's Lady was herself a Committee of Safety; for she had found in her Dream, where to place the Empire of Three Crowns, which she told me thus.

She saw a great Crown of Gold on the top of a Dunghill, which a numerous company of brave Men encompassed, but for a great while none would break the Ring. At last there came a tall Black Man up to the Dunghill, took-up the Crown, and put it upon his Head.

Upon the relating of this, she asked what manner of Man the King was. I told her, that, when I was an Eaton Scholar, I saw at Windsor, sometimes, the Prince of Wales at the head of a Company of Boys; that himself was a very lovely Black Boy, and that I heard that, since, he was grown very tall.

The news of the Dis-
solution of the Parlia-
ment arrives at Dal-
keith. October 17,
1659.

On the 17th of October, by the Post, came the certain news to Dalkeith, that the Army had dislodged the Parliament: Of which sad tidings the General's Lady was to me the first Evangelist, and came-up to my Chamber to tell it, seeming much to bewail her Husband's Infelicity, that he had not left his Command; for he had requested it a little before, by a Letter to the Speaker, (whether in reality, or out of design, I do not allow myself to judge) she adding further, that she had bought very many trunks, to carry her Goods over into Ireland, (and indeed, many were but newly bought) and that they could live comfortably there, upon their Estate; and that the General would delight to be a Planter in his old days.

I told her, well Madam; you come to carry your Trunks
now

now into England ; and that may be as well. I confess I did not promise her to go forth, and be a Dutchess, (no disgrace to her memory ; for at, and before, this time, had she deserved it ;) but I merrily thought of Ben Johnson's Alchymist, " here is Gold; go-forth, and be a Knight". She was almost angry with me, that I would not look upon it as ill News: and then asked me what the General should do now. I told her, Madam, he is so wise, that he knows what he is to do: no body need be his Counsellor: And your Ladyship and I, shall find he will not let slip this opportunity to redeem and rescue his Country from the Slavery and Tyranny it has lain under. But I had good reason to think that she did but dissemble with me, unless it were that she was afraid that her husband should engage: though afterward she did her share to induce him to it.

I perceived she had told the General how merry she found me upon this disaster; for soon after, taking me aside, (he said) " I shall not employ you in any part of my Business; and be not discontented at it; for you know not these People so well as I do, and cannot dissemble with them." I thanked him for this; but, seeing he was so plain, and so kind, I made this request to him, that he would take-up one resolution, viz. " not to be squeamish about the change of Officers, that would not be wholly dependant upon him, but reform from a Corporal to a Colonel."

Before it was Noon, the General stood engaged against the Sword of England; his Protestation being, " that he would reduce the Military power in obedience to the Civil:" and he was as good as his word. Now he is visible upon the Stage, where I leave him to God's good Providence, and his own great prudence, to place and displace Officers; to secure Citadels and Castles; to enter into Treaties and dissolve them; to march a forlorn of his Forces into England, and recall them; to encourage the Arms of the Presbyterians, and not to use them; and to employ the Counsellors of his Camp in a Paper-War, leaving them to be the Dictators of it, and when they had done, to leave them.

General Monk declares that he will support the Authority of Parliament.

For I have not undertaken to give an exact Journal
of

of things publicly known and allowed, (there being no controversy of them) but of General Monk's designed Loyalty to restore the King and Liberties of the Subject, and the Laws of the Realm, to the state they were in before our civil Wars commenced, Anno 1642. And, though I persuade myself that what I have already delivered as to that particular will be amply satisfactory to the ingenuous and unprejudiced; yet I shall briefly prosecute the method of this miraculous Restauration, and the difficulties that it met-with; declining, as much as possible remarks upon such particular persons as would have obstructed this glorious Enterprise. and most successful Attainment of the late Duke of Albemarle, whose memory must be revered by all the Subjects of these Three Kingdoms; who delight not in Blood and Faction.

To proceed therefore; that afternoon the General sent his trusty Adjutant (now Sir Jeremiah Smith) to Edinburgh and Leith, which by his diligence, and the influence and integrity of Hobelthorn Hughes, Miller, and Clifton, were secured to the General's interest. The General likewise ordered the March of such Troops of Horse, on whose Captains he could most rely; as Johnson, Symnel, and others.

At night he stopped the Packet for England, and the next day left Dalkeith and his Lady there, to pack-up their Trunks, not knowing whither the fate of the day would carry him.

He marches to Edinburgh,

He came, about two or three hours before night, to Edinburgh, where were usually quartered two Regiments of Foot, (excepting some few Companies, which were sent-out upon particular service) ready to be remanded and exchanged.

and makes changes of some Officers of his Army.

The regiments were his own, and Colonel Talbot's. By the assistance of the latter regiment he began the Reformation of his own; out of which he dismissed several Officers, and would have imprisoned his Major for ill Offices done, had he not narrowly escaped his hands; and, although the Lieutenant-Colonel was absent from his Command, (as he usually was) yet, upon presumption that he was no friend to his design, the General gave-away his Commission

Commission to Captain Morgan, and his Major's to Captain Nichols.

At Night, when he came to his Quarters, he bethought himself of securing Berwick, as a place of great importance to his new affairs. He knew the Governour (Colonel Meers) was steady to him, but doubted whether Meers could answer for his Officers; who, should they mutiny at the noise of the General's Declaration, the Town might run the hazard of being lost. Wherefore, a party of Horse (commanded by Captain Johnson) was sent thither to strengthen the hands of the Governour; and indeed the Captain came but just time enough to do it; for the Governour had scarce clapt-up his dissenting Officers, but Colonel Cobbet entered there with Instructions and Authority from the Army in England, to assert and promote their Interest. But Captain Johnson brought him Prisoner to the General, and he committed him to the Castle of Edinburgh.

He secures the town of Berwick upon Tweed.

He takes Colonel Cobbet prisoner, and sends him to Edinburgh castle.

But, had not General Monk been quick in remonstrating against Lambert's proceedings, it was thought Cobbet would and could have sent him thither.

The General was wholly intent upon satisfying his Army of the justice of his Proceedings, and of the necessity of using the method of force, to restore the Parliament. To this end now he had his Confidants and Adjutors up and down; of whom Mr. Gumble did him singular service; for he had an excellent dexterity at spiriting a cause. The General now resolving to make a thorough Reformation of his Troops, dismissed all Officers from their trust, who would not be satisfied with his engagement against the Army in England, and having secured his Home Quarters, he forthwith extended his care to the Citadels and Castles remote: Captain Witter undertook for the Citadel of St. Johnston, and Captain Robinson for that of Air.

Finding now that he had a good Cause, and some ground to stand-upon, he dispatched Letters to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, to Major General Lambert, and to Mr. Lenthal, (the late Speaker.) In one or more whereof was signified, his Resolution to restore our Laws and Liberties;

Liberties ; which expression was afterwards construed in a larger sense, than possibly might at first be intended ; and I know not how it was expounded to the Lord Fairfax.

The arrival of these Three Letters at London gave some faint hopes to the Rumpers of a second Restoration ; and infinitely surprised the Army-Grandeess, who neither expected such an opposition, nor would believe they had any reason to fear it ; It being so directly against the Interest of any one part of the Army, to divide against the rest. Besides, that it could not enter into the thoughts of the Men of Wallingford-House, that Soldiers should love their Country better than their Pay. Nay, and though they might have rational Jealousies, that Monk would not approve of their actions, yet they were assured by some of his Officers, who were in Town, that he had not interest enough to make the Army in Scotland act against them.

But, this being in some degree already effected, Monk was too much a Soldier to be despised ; the place he was in was such, as would enable him to stand a War ; and the Cause in which he engaged was so just and plausible, that Lambert's ambition would have found it difficult to attempt to go over the Tweed into Blood against him : For the true state of the quarrel was "whether a second Protector, or the old Parliament again, should govern the nation." And thus much Fleetwood seemed to understand soon after Lambert's march towards the North ; and it tended not a little to Monk's advantage, that Fleetwood, by express Messengers, pretended to court him. True it is, indeed, that Lambert put himself into action under Fleetwood's command ; but, if his success had answered his ambition, the Soldiery would, without much difficulty, have allowed him the superiority.

This Rupture between Monk and the Army, was the talk and joy of London ; whose Lord-Mayor and Common Council soon after received a large Letter from him inviting them to assist in the Cause he had espoused. The Presbyterians (the far greater part among them) liked the Man better than his undertaking, and they liked the latter, it may be, somewhat the worse, because he had, but just before, solicited the Independent Churches to the same effect, and assured them of their Spiritual Liberties, as

well

General Lambert's object was to be Protector of the Commonwealth, as Oliver Cromwell had been.

well as their Civil. He likewise sent Letters to the Fleet (then in the Downs, under the Command of Lawson) and to some Garrisons and particular Persons in England, and, viz. to Colonel Overton (Governour of Hull) and to the Officers and Army in Ireland; desiring them to declare with him, for the Restoring of the Parliament. But no Encouragement did he receive from any of these: They returning, that to them the Offences of their Brethren of the English Army did not appear so heinous, as to require a recourse unto Arms; and that amicable and calm Treaties were more likely to secure their common safety against the Common Enemy, who, by this breach would watch an advantage against them. Nay, from the then Governing Officers in Ireland, he was answered with a Resolution to declare against him, in case he advanced any further.

Yet did not these discouragements in the least stagger his firm purpose to go through with his Work: No, no, though Dr. Clargis, and Colonel Talbot were also expressly sent from Fleetwood and Lambert to supersede it; by whom they were entreated and conjured to use their utmost endeavours to allay the sudden heats of Monk, which had been kindled (they said) by ill Artifices, or mistakes of their proceedings; of which they assured him that he and his Army should receive a satisfactory account. Clargis was Brother-in-Law to the General; Colonel Talbot a Gentleman whose Conversation was acceptable to him; both these came Post-haste to us November the Second, with Instructions to cajole Monk out of his Arms and Reason. But the man would not yield. Talbot could not make him believe the sincerity of Lambert's Friendship, nor the reality of his proffers of advantage; and Clargis did but prevaricate with them that sent him, and informed the General of the Instability and Poverty of the Army in England; they having but little Money, and no means left them of raising any, when that was spent, but their Swords. Besides, that the Free-Quarter guests could not long be welcome; for as much as the men at Westminster (foreseeing their doom) before their turning-out, had voted it High Treason to raise Money out of Parliament. Now, though themselves were but the

Dr. Clargis and Col. Talbot are sent by the Army-party to treat with General Monk, November 2, 1659.

the shadow of the name of Parliament, and had for many Years usurped a Power that did not belong to them, yet did they cover their Spite and Revenge with a pretended tenderness for their Country's Freedom.

Lambert with his Army marches northwards to Newcastle.

Lambert waits not for the return of his Messengers from Monk, but advances Northward, with what Forces could be spared at home: and his Troops increase in his March; for they lay conveniently in the Country, after the defeating of Booth, to be at the Summons of his Orders. He arrived at Newcastle in November, with a Force of about 12,000 men, wherein were (as it was reported among us,) 7,000 of the chiefest Cavalry of the Army.

Fleetwood sends Captain Deane to treat with Monk.

Fleetwood sent Captain Deane, Treasurer of the Army, (a Messenger of his own) to Monk with a very kind Letter, and an offer of what Preferment in the Army he would himself desire. He was kindly received, and entertained by the General at Supper; but he had done ill Offices in his passage to us by dispersing Papers to seduce our Soldiers; and his deportment to the General at his very Table was somewhat unseemly; for he told him plainly that he had taken the direct course to bring Charles Stuart in upon them by dividing the Army, and by his influence, so continuing it, charging him point-blank, as if Charles Stuart was at the bottom of his Design; consonant to his dispersed Tickets. Here I had forgot myself, and told Mr. Treasurer thus. *No, it is you that will bring him in. For ye in England have more than justified the late King: for he did but demand Five Members of the House of Commons, and ye have dissolved a Parliament.*

The words were scarce out of my Mouth, before the General withdrew into a private Room, and ordered a Servant to whisper me to come to him. When I came, he told me (with a sort of Anger and Love together), *Mr. Price, you know that I desired that you would not meddle, or make, with these People; pray, let them alone: I can be undone by none but you and my Wife.* But, with veneration to his Blessed Memory, I humbly conceive that he had as much reason to be angry with this Messenger, as with me; for he exceeded the decorum of an Envoy.

Envoy. I was one Morning at the Head of a Company of Foot when he passed-by, and told them, *My Lord Lambert is coming upon you, and all Monk's Army will not be enough for a Breakfast for him.* But he met with a scurvy Answer; that *Lambert had a very good Stomach, this Cold Weather, if he could eat Pikes, and swallow Bullets.*

The General (to show that he was in earnest, and with a prospect of gaining Assistance from the Northern parts of England,) sent Major Knight, with Four Troops of Horse, and Captain Miller with Six Companies of Foot, to enter *New-Castle*. But Colonel Lilborne had prevented them, and put in a Force too great for them to attack: So they retreated to Berwick, and stayed there till they were remanded. Yet did it make for the General's advantage, to be thus disappointed of enlarging our Quarters: for Lambert was hastening his March, and Monk's Army was not yet fixed; and these Troops and Companies, with their Officers, were the choicest of his Men, and most devoted to his Design. So that the loss of them might have proved injurious to it. But this Project of enlarging his Quarters (as I remember) was none of his own; but suggested to him as a probable expedient to gain him considerable supplies of Horse, which he wanted.

The effect of the Army's Message from England to us, was, that it produced a Treaty; which had like to have been our Ruin, though it ended in theirs; because it was necessary for Monk to accept of it, he having not yet modelled his Army. For, though his procedure to dismiss his dissenting, or suspected, Officers, was quick and resolute; yet were they gently treated at first; some few of them having their Arrears stated, if not paid, by Special Warrant, and themselves being suffered to stay among us. But they made but ill use of the General's dealing thus gently with them. The loss of their Commands opened their Mouths against him, and their tongues were exercised to debauch his Soldiers from their Duty; which, being represented to the General, caused their entire dismissal, without any hopes of Arrears to the cashiered.

The two Armies of Lambert and Monk enter into a Treaty.

So in the beginning of November, a Treaty was set on

The Treaty begins at London in the beginning of November, 1659.

Foot by the General, and his Officers; Colonel Wilks, Colonel Clobery, and Major Knight, were nominated, and delegated with Instructions, and sent-up to Wallingford-House, to treat with Fleetwood and his Officers. Now Lambert, being upon his March from London, met-with our peaceable Commissioners at York, and would have spared them a further journey; for he assured them that he had Powers, from the Committee of Safety, and the General Council of Officers, to treat, and conclude with them. But they, insisting upon the return of the Parliament to their former Power, were dismissed, and suffered to pass-on to London, being publick Messengers. However, Lambert was not altogether without hopes, if not from our Commissioners (when they should further open their Credentials at Wallingford-House, whither they were sent) yet from Major-General Morgan, then at York, who artificially disliked Monk's proceedings; and it was well known that he had a great Interest in his Friendship, and in the Soldiers of Scotland, his Command there being next to the General's. Colonel Lilburne (who commanded at York) taking notice of this, represented it to Lambert; and it was concluded by them that Morgan was a fit Instrument to send into Scotland; because, that, either by his Friendship with Monk, he might create a better understanding between them, or, by his influence, might draw-off a Party of the Scotch Army for himself: which was, indeed, not impossible to have been effected, had his distaste of Monk's declaring against the Army been real, instead of being only feigned. And here I note, that it was pleasantly observed how Lambert and Fleetwood, a-part, would cajole Monk for themselves.

So Morgan was sent to us, and his Message neglected; but his Person was most kindly received by the General, who much wanted him, and soon employed him in the most difficult service that yet remained unattempted, which was, the reforming of our Horse; for very many even of our private Troopers were great Malecontents. Of all evils I believe it was none of the greatest, that our Number of Horse was so small, and that the last Summer Fleetwood had remanded two Regiments of them out of Scotland;

Scotland; though, it was conjectured, not without some distrust of the Commander in Chief there. Morgan and Adjutant Smith, were itinerant Reformers from quarter to quarter, to dismount the dissenting Troopers, and to set Foot-Soldiers on Horse-back, that could buy Boots. But many prevented their being unhorsed, and ran from their Colours; others again carried them over to the Enemy, not without threats to return upon us. In this, Lambert had much the advantage of us; for we knew of no Revolters from his army, till their Money and hopes were spent; his nearness to us (he being at Newcastle) and the noise of the greatness of his Army, discouraged and frightened-away all that would not cordially join with us: And yet this at the long run proved no inconvenience to the General; for now he thought his Men would stand by him, should he have occasion to use them.

The Messengers from the Independent Party, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, pressed the General with set Speeches to desist from his Enterprise. But he took them up roundly, and with the Eloquence and Resolution of a Soldier; silencing their fears of the common Enemy with suggestions of a pretended necessity of doing his duty, in order to the restoring of the Parliament. It took him up a compleat Month, the purging and forming his Army to his mind, and marching the Troops (from their several quarters) towards the South of Scotland: But, before he left Edinburgh, he called a Convention of the Nobility and Burghers, laid before them the Ground of his Quarrel, required their peaceable deportment during his absence, and the payment of what they were in Arrear to him, for his Army; he having, in consideration of the poverty of the Country, forborne them long: They frankly yielded to his demand; and some of the Members of that Assembly, by appointment, waited upon him afterwards, at Berwick; moving him to furnish them with Arms, that they might be capacitated to assist in the opposing of Lambert's Invasion, which seemed equally to threaten (they said) both us and them. But the General looked-upon the request as too early and too dangerous for him to grant; because his own men were not to be

General Monk marches with his Army from Edinburgh, to the South of Scotland, about the middle of November, 1659.

disobliged; beside that the two Armies were not as yet become so far exasperated against each other, as to force us, in despair, to take in the assistance of those who were enemies to both. In some things, however, they were gratified, and much was promised; so that they went not away discontented. Nay, some of them better understood the General, I believe, than his Officers did; many of whom took it in great dudgeon, that orders were given out to the Captains of Foot to fill up their Vacancies with Scots. But, indeed, the General was necessitated to take this course: and the Jealousy (be it where it would) was, by most of our own party, deemed groundless, and ridiculous; in regard that the General had not yet given any advantage to that Nation against the then English Interest.

In which Particular he was so very cautious, that afterwards, when he saw he had no need of them, he marched back a part of his own Force (under the Command of Major-General Morgan) to secure the peace of Scotland. Now this Action was particularly canvassed, and adjudged an Argument not only of his prudence, but of his fidelity to that which they called a Parliament, at Westminster. So that he stopt the Mouths of his Invidious Adversaries, who were wont to be continually prating, as if that Nation would soon be in Arms against them, if it were once left to it-self.

Though the Armies attended the issue of the Treaty at Wallingford-House; yet Lambert being now come to Newcastle, the Commanders on both sides continued to make preparations for War: Monk, both for the smallness of his Army, and his great want of Horse, (many of his private Troopers being not well resolved neither) was obliged to Act on the Defensive.

Now, if Lambert had not lingered so long at Newcastle, but, with his Horse only, advanced directly into Scotland; beside that he could then have met with little or no resistance, he would also have confined us to very narrow Quarters; and all the Villages and Oats and Straw (of which, at that time, there was plenty) would have been his own: And in truth, as he was destitute both of Money and Authority, sudden Action was his true Interest.

The General, on the other hand, had both these advantages;

tages ; and only wanted Power ; so that *his* Interest was *Delay*. But it was the Almighty's good Time to disappoint the Strong, to infatuate their Counsels, and to sow Seeds of Strife and Divisions amongst them. For a great many of those that had followed Lambert into the North, were not thorough-paced to serve his Ambition: some of them looked-back upon Fleetwood, he being acknowledged to have the Superiority in Command ; and others again began to abate of their Jealousies towards Monk, who had been represented to them as a secret Friend to Charles Stuart. Besides that Lambert could not, in Justice or Honour, break-in upon our Quarters, before he understood the Event of the Treaty ; which he soon after did, to his Content.

By the Eighteenth of November the General had reached as far as Haddington, intending for Berwick, and to visit the Passes upon the Tweed, that so he might be able to post his Men to the best Advantage. Now, upon the same Night, and to the same Place, after Grace had been said at Supper, for Peace, came Information that our Commissioners had concluded with the Officers at London ; which news, I knew, was very unwelcome to him ; whereupon very early next Morning he returns to Edinburgh, consults his Counsellors, convenes his Officers, and requires their Sense upon the matter. It was easy for him, without the help of a *Familiar*, to foretell what it would be : for now his Army was not the same thing that it was five Weeks ago ; and the Officers knew very well that, should they tamely submit to this Peace, the Consequence must be, that his Honour the Colonel must sink-down into a *Captain*, and the Captain shrink into an *Ensign*, and the Ensign return to his *Halbert* ; one Article of the Agreement being this, that *all Officers who had been suspended, or had laid-down their Commissions, since the 11th of October last, by reason of any differences between the Armies, should be heard, and their Causes adjusted and determined by Fourteen Commissioners ; the one half of them to be chosen by the Council of Officers, in England, and the other half by the Council of Officers, in Scotland.* Had they

News arrives to General Monk and his Army, at Haddington, on the 13th of November, that his Commissioners have concluded a treaty with Lambert's Army.

submitted to this *Umpire*, to foretell which way the Scale would have inclined (now) was obvious.

This Convention of Officers, on both sides, was by compact to meet at Newcastle, the first of December then ensuing. Now, since Monk's declaring against the Army, he had displaced about 140 Officers, who had lately been shuffled upon him by the then Parliament, in lieu of a very considerable Number of his stoutest and bravest Men, upon whose courage and Fidelity he principally relied, whom they had removed before the 11th of October then last past. And, though the General sent frequent Letters of Intercession for them, yet so great an Influence had the Factions of the Anabaptists and Independents at that Time, that they prevailed against his Mediation; neither, probably, would they have stopped here, had not the Westminsterians been interrupted in their Session. All those who were thus displaced by the Rump, and had not yet left Scotland, he had already restored to their Commands, in confidence of his being able to make his Peace with his Masters for so doing, when they should return again to the Exercise of their Authority; he having taken-up a Resolution to signify to them, that their best Servants were ill represented to them, by these Factions, who had before them a List of all the Officers in Scotland, to whose Names they set these Marks, B. for *Bad*, I. for *Indifferent*, and G. for *Godly*. Monk's Men knew how to fight, and they loved their *old General*; some of them, better than the *old Parliament*; they knew too, that their *Cause* was good, and their Hopes of restoring the Rump, begat new ones also, of living at home in ease. So that they stood so far off from any Terms of Peace with Wallingford-house, that some Indignations were expressed against the Commissioners, as if they had betrayed them.

Monk and his Army refuse to ratify this Treaty, without some further explanation.

But our Counsellors were more moderate, and came to this Resolution, "that a new Treaty should be desired, upon pretence that there were some Articles in that Agreement that required a further explication, refusing to ratify any part of it, till that were done." And this dallying it was, that proved the Break-neck of Lambert, who

who accepted of this Excuse at first, but afterwards found our Delays.

So soon as it was known in London, that Monk and his Officers had refused to ratify the Agreement which their Commissioners had made for them ; several Members began to take heart upon it, to cabal in Corners, and to contrive towards their own Restitution ; whereas *before*, they were tame and irresolute, as scarce knowing how to distinguish between Friend and Foe ; the Officers of the English Army thirsting for the Government. But then, on the other Side, the popular Expectations which were observed in all places to be raised of Monk, touched them to the Quick, and made them apprehensive lest Intentions might be to let-in the King and his Party (which they called *the Common Enemy*) upon them. Neither indeed were some prying Men, amongst us, less jealous of him ; For, one of them coming very late to my Chamber, we entertained each other with mutual Friendship and Discourse ; but he would still be, ever and anon, interposing for my thoughts, “ whether the General was for the King, or not.” But I told him, that he would do the General, and us all, a great deal of wrong, if he did not abhor the very suspicion. He was not satisfied, however, with this Answer ; and we talked-on till it was too late for him to pass by the Centinels to his Quarters. So he was forced to lodge that Night with me ; but he was still awaking, and telling me ; *the General is for the King* : and I, as often, desired him to forget that idle Fancy, and let us both sleep.

The General now, with mighty Protestations, pretends to adhere to the Parliament, as it sat on the 11th of October ; (the day Lambert disturbed them) though to call another Parliament, was the great, and secret Instruction that he had given his Commissioners, and not to be discovered to the English Officers, without an unavoidable necessity ; which necessity Coll. Wilks conceived himself to ly-under ; but upon his return he found us of another Opinion.

The Scotch Army being now disengaged from the intanglements of peace, marched to the North side of the

Tweede; The General lodged two Nights (*Sunday* being one) at Dunbar; we there observing the place of that memorable Battle fought September the third, 1650, where the *Solemn League and Covenant* was more effectually executed than when it was afterwards burnt by the hands of the *Common Hangman in Westminster Palace-yard*. But this latter was done legally.

The next day the General came to Berwick, where we found the Air to be somewhat colder. But, before we entered it, Capt. Ogle (an honest old man, zealous for the good old Cause) met us, and brought into our Service a Troop of *Cumberlands*; not *Jades*; for in those days our Muster-Masters called all *Horses*. Hither also came the General's Lady, with her Son; who, some few weeks after, received orders to go from hence by Sea, to London.

Here we likewise met our fore-named Commissioners, who returned from England without Peace; and yet their concluding of it at first, was very seasonable service. Hither also came Zanchy, (Envoy from Newcastle) who made several Overtures for an accommodation; but was answered, both in jest and earnest, by our Wits and Counsellors. In this place we might have staid longer in a good Winter-Quarter, had not the boldness of the *Newcastle Dragoons* allarmed us: whereupon Mr. Zanchy was secured, and the General, in a most tempestuous dark Night, marched towards Coldstream, but took-in at the Pass at Noram, the Night being so very dark.

General Monk and his army come to Coldstream.

At Coldstream our first Entertainment was suitable to the Name; no Sutlers being as yet come to us, and no Shambles to be found. All the Time we staid there we drank warm drink; it was brewed in the Morning; we had enough of it at Noon; and, if any was left till Night, is was accounted stale, and only fit for Officers. What Mault it had within Doors, I know not; but the Ingredients without were Horse-dung, Ice and Snow; for it was troublesome to come to the water; yet some we had; for our Brewsters were not careful, or skilful in the compositions of Ana. Here were our settled Quarters; though the General, with a small retinue, made a slip back to Berwick, December the 13th, to entertain the
Scotch

Scotch Convention. At our return, we found Butchers and Sutlers; but the Sutlers (useful men) had got a whole Barn to themselves; another there was, (but not all-out so good) that served indifferently for a *Cow-stall* and a *Chapel*; our *Quarter-Master* having a Warrant for it, from the Nativity of Christ.

Here we were fixed in expectation of events; what Lambert, what the Men of the Parliament, and what the concealed Lord Fairfax would do. We sent and received Messages, and fought in Paper; laying aside, and reserving Powder and Shot, as dangerous things, and not fit to be employed against Brethren. But, if Lambert would have breathed his Horse with three or four days March almost Belly-deep in Snow, made of that his Provender too, and lodged them in it, for scarcity of Villages, on the South-side of Tweede; he might have attacked us on the North; where, after he had ascended on even Banks, he would have found a Battalia ready to receive him, filed into Horse and Foot, (which the Countryman may understand by a Lare of Fat, and a Lare of Lean in his Bacon) for Wings of Horse we had none, as not intending to fly. This was the Posture in which Morgan, by the General's Order, drew-up his Men at Kelsey.

And now comfortable News thronged-in upon us; as, that the then growing Party in Ireland had declared for us, and were ready to send us assistance;—that Portsmouth had opened her Gates to Hazlerig, Morley and Walton; (three of the seven Commissioners for governing the Army) and this Col. Wetham (the Governour of it) did, in respect to the General, as well as in duty to the Parliament:—that the Fleet under Lawson had owned our Quarrel against the Army;—and that Fairfax was ready to march to fall-in upon Lambert's Rear; should he advance forward upon us; assuring us that, whatever came of it, he would not fail of being in Arms by the first of January; and he was better than his word. The Soldiers began now to be revived in these cold Quarters, as hoping for better. Hither came some of our Officers to us, who were absent from their Commands, when the General first declared; alliedging, in excuse of their staying so long away, that they were stopp'd by Lambert

Several bodies of troops return to their obedience to the Parliament.

at

at Newcastle : but all was to no purpose ; for they found their places filled.

This Stream of good News notwithstanding, the General continu'd his wonted care of his Guards : It being now evident, that Lambert, within a few days, must either fight or fall. And, as for my self, I must confess that I was inwardly displeased at thus many favourable expresses ; as apprehending that this name of a Parliament would, by nominating and shifting Commissioners for it, engage the Army so much to their Devotion, and get such other advantages of fixing their Oligarchy, that it would be no easie matter to dispossess them. With these foolish whimsies in my head, I was resolved to steal privately to the General ; who had cautioned me before-hand, not to be seen to appear in these publick Transactions. And to do this, I knew the interval between Midnight and the Morning to be the only time. So, between two and three of the Clock, by the help of a Corporal, I came to his Chamber-door, found it only latched, the General in his Cloaths, his head laid on the side of the Bed, and his Body resting upon two Stools or a Form, Fire and Candles being in the Room. He awaked at my first entrance : I desired his pardon, and he kindly gave liberty of Speech. Upon my representing to him what I judg'd to be his Interest and Duty : that is to say, the restoring of our known Laws : (for I never used to speak in any other terms) I cannot forget his Passion and his Posture : “ Mr. Price, (said he) I know your meaning, and I have known it. By the grace of God, I will do it, if ever I can find it in my power ; and I do not much doubt but that I shall.” So closing my hands in both his, he lifted them up, and devoutly uttered, “ by God’s help I will do it.”

I then took the further liberty to mind him of the Papers he had signed, “ to stand to this Parliament as it sat the 11th of October, and no other,” and of several other Restrictions which he had needlessly (as I conceived) put upon himself. He answered me with some regret ; *you see, who are about me, and write these things ; I must not shew any dislike of them : I perceive they are jealous enough of me already,* bidding me not to look-upon it as any act of his. Having thus discoursed to him of diverse things

things which, I thought, might be for his service, (he courteously allowing me the freedom) I left him to his short Rest ; for he was to be early at business. And thus I became further satisfied at what Port he aimed ; however then and afterwards, with the winds, he steered his course.

December was very far spent ; but so were not the hopes of accommodating this breach between both Armies by a Treaty. Wherefore Monk is pressed to dispute, and send his Officers to treat with Lambert's, as it was promised ; yet the doing of this was suspended ; we having understood that there would be powerful diversions in the South ; But so soon as we were certainly informed that Portsmouth had declared for the Parliament, and that the Southern Generals (who acted by the same authority with our Northern) began to give-out their orders, and were obeyed, Monk immediately dispatcht-away an Express to Lambert ; signifying, that He and his Officers were ready for a Treaty ; but that he could not proceed that way, till he had by Letters consulted his Brethren at Portsmouth, and obtained their consent for the same, and the choice of the place where they would have it : wherefore he desired that his Messenger (Major Bannister) might without any interruption pass on his way to them ; subjoyning Complement. Lambert perceiving the drift of this, detained Bannister, and vented his Resentment against Monk and his Officers, as if they had deluded him.

And now the mighty Men of Newcastle, (who found not their hands, or their hearts, in condition to fight against their Scottish Brethren) fell a raging into despair ; for the next News that they and we hear of, was, that the Regiments in and about London had revolted from Fleetwood, and mutinied into obedience to the Parliament. The penitent Soldiers were content to take shame upon themselves for their second Apostacy from the good old Cause, (Lieutenant General Fleetwood, expressing it, *that God had spit in their faces :*) and (seeing there was no other remedy,) to trust their Masters, a third time, with the Commonwealth.

So December the 25th, by some called Christmas-day, in the afternoon, the Fag-end of a Parliament sat-down again

The Soldiers at London return to their obedience to Parliament.

The Parliament meets again on the 25th of Dec. 1659.

again within those Walls, which by their good wills they would never have parted-with. Sovereignty, it seems, was so very sweet, that the bare Privilege of coming thither to give Counsel, was, in those times, canvassed-for, as if the contest had been for a Roman Tribune-Ship. But this doth not concern Coldstream, whose General was not altogether a Prophet: for, tho' he told me, after the defeating of Sir George Booth, that he knew Lambert so well, that he was confident that he would not let the Men at Westminster sit till Christmas-day; yet he said not, that on that day they should return to sit again. The news of this came not to us till the very end of December; But, though it had not come at all, the General would still have marcht forward; because the Lord Fairfax was, by agreement, to appear on the first of January with what force he could make, and what Confederates he could gain, by his Interest, out of the old Army. But he found it necessary to be in Arms some few days sooner, because he suspected that his intents were discovered by Lambert's Party; and he was too politick to be taken napping. Thus Intelligence came to us, "that the Lord Fairfax was up, in and about York; and that to him had joyned almost all Col. Lilburn's Regiment of Horse, who, neglecting their Colonel, followed the commands of their Major, Smithson, a very worthy Soldier."

Lord Fairfax rises in arms with a body of his friends near York, in support of the Parliament.

Upon the Neck of this came several Advices, as that the Irish Brigade, (who were looked-upon as the choicest men in Lambert's Army,) were resolved to revolt from him, he having no other Authority than what his own Interest could make, and no Money left to pay his Soldiers; and that Levies were preparing in England, by such of Fairfax's old Officers, who bore a sway in their respective Countries; as Colonel Rossiter, and others. So that it was now manifest, that Lambert must of necessity break-up his Quarters at Newcastle, and march either against Monk or against Fairfax, who were, both of them, Generals of a fortunate name in war, and acting for that Authority from which this Rebel Army had their Commissions; their *Committee of Safety*, having never given-out any Commissions that ever I could hear-of.

Monk concluded, that Lambert would rather look-back

back towards Yorkshire, than attempt upon Him: He had constant and diligent Spies at Newcastle, to inform him, from time to time, of the Condition of the Army there: and, as soon as ever Lambert should have offered to move, the General would have had intelligence of it; and then we should have marched from Coldstream directly to the Relief of Fairfax.

But God was pleased to decide the Quarrel without Blood. For, upon the return of the Men at Westminster, they immediately voted that all their Armies should betake themselves to the several Quarters in which they were in the month of October before Lambert's disturbance of the Parliament. The News of this was brought to us by Letters only; but an express Order was sent to Newcastle, to break-up; which Lambert obeyed, and absconded; for it was too late to resist.

Lambert's army at Newcastle, obeys the order of the restored Parliament, and returns to its old quarters.

These good Tidings created much joy in our little Habitations; though the Vote for returning into Quarters somewhat perplexed our General. But our Officers would not understand a bare Letter of News to concern them; being more comforted this cold Winter with the hopes of living near their own Homes, now the Parliament was returned, than of the Golden Chains and Medals that had been promised them, by those who would have promised Mountains rather than not have sitten again. For, could the People of England ever have once gotten any tolerable freedom of choice, and reduced the Armies to Terms of obedience, every Body might see, with half an Eye that these *good Old Causemen* would soon have been *new-named*; and, whoever has heard of Richard's Parliament, cannot but look-upon this as more than a probability. 'Twas now the first of January, 1659-60; it was the Lord's day too, and it was his doing; when our General ordered his Infantry from Coldstream over the Tweede; and the next Day marched his Horse likewise, having sent Col. Knight before, with some Troops towards Newcastle.

General Monk with his Army begins his march to London. January 1, 1659-60.

It was troublesome to descend the River on Horse-back; and a superstitious Care was taken that the General should not trip. The Frost was great, and the snow greater: and I do not remember that ever we trod upon *plain Earth* from Edinburgh to London. The Air was
this

this day so very clear too, that we could distinguish the colours of the Pebbles in the Tweede, though several Horse had passed before us. I being behind the General, entertained myself with this waggish thought; that, did but the Men of Westminster, (for thus he commonly styled the Parliament to me) know what a loyal Servant they were likely to have of him, they would never have suffered him to pass thus quietly! And of this I had afterward occasion to tell him.

The 2d of January we came to Wooler; where the General received a kind Letter from the Speaker, signifying, indeed, that they were returned to the exercise of their Authority, but not one word about his marching towards them. This increased his Jealousy.

The 3d of January we came to a Village, not worth my naming, because here I met with worse quarters than at Coldstream. I and some few more, after we had consumed our Landlord's Fuel, bargained for his *empty* Vessels for our Chimney; drank-out his full ones, and, without any disturbance to our Brains; and lodged that Night in the best Room of his House, which was within the Chimney-Mantle. The next Morning our Landlord had no reason to complain, though I had, he being informed that the General himself had no so good Quarters the other Night, as his Chaplain had at the Parson's House; and therefore had a mind to change with us here. But I fairly left him, for I saw neither Meat, Drink, nor Fire, when I came-in with him; however, I did my duty, or a piece of it, at least, to attend him to his Chamber; though he was fain to climb some steps of a Ladder to come to it, and glad that it was no worse. But my Brother-Chaplain straggled-out of his Quarters, and found Christmas-Pie and Strong Beer, at a Gentleman's House, who bade him and his Company the Welcome of a Night, but in the Morning professed more Kindness to Lambert than to Monk; and he was not mistaken in the Interest of his Religion.

He comes to Morpeth on the 4th of January, 1659-60.

The 4th. We reached to Morpeth; whither came Mr. William Man (Sword-Bearer of London) with Addresses from the City, who had been early Rebels to the Parliament.

Parliament. The General gave him Letters back, and for Reasons of Camp, sent along with him Mr. Gumble to the Parliament. The Magistrates of this place (whether out of civility, or to atone for Lambert's long abode with them is no great matter) presented us with Wine and Sugar. Our next Stage was Durham, whither came the High Sheriff to us. From hence the General sent Sir Joseph Douglas, (whom he had formerly obliged) with Letters of moment to Sir Charles Coot in Ireland. Douglas had long before contracted an intimacy with the General in Scotland, was frequent in his Visits to him at Dalkeith, where he used (for several days together) to be courteously entertained and lodged. The trust that the General reposed in him, was (it seems) of a great and dangerous Quality; for Douglas was to negotiate with Coot in Ireland, that the various Interests there might be so managed, as to engage them to confederate quickly into a Declaration for a Free Parliament, as the most proper and effectual means to redress their Grievances. Douglas was credited, and the Design took effect, even a little with the earliest; for just upon the Pinch of their declaring for a Free Parliament, they were alarmed with the astonishing News of Monk's having broken-down the Gates of London. (The manner and reason of it I shall not here anticipate) whereupon the Conspirators in Ireland against the then Parliament's authority, expostulated with Douglas, as if he had betrayed them. But the next Packet from England assured them, that Monk had likewise declared for a Free Parliament; and so all was right again. Sir Joseph Douglas is well known at Court, being at this time, (as I take it) a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

General Monk and his army come to Durham.

And sends a message to Sir Charles Coot in Ireland, to exhort him to declare for a free parliament.

In our March afterwards, we made no halt till we came to York. Here we stayed five days, one of them being Sunday, and Mr. Bowles gave us a good Sermon in the Cathedral. This Gentleman was the Lord Fairfax's Chaplain, Counsellor, and Agitator; and dealt with the General about weighty and dangerous Affairs; one night, above the rest, keeping him up so very late, that, upon my entering the Chamber to go to Prayers, I found him and

He next comes to York, and confers with the Lord Fairfax.

Bowles

Bowles in very private Discourse; and the General ordered me to go-out for a while, but not to Bed. Sometime after Midnight Bowles went-away; so that then our Servants hoped to sleep; but the General sent for me in to him, and commanded them to stay without, as before. He took me close to him, and said "what do you think? Mr. Bowles has pressed me very hard to stay here, and declare for the King; assuring me that I shall have great assistance." I started at the boldness of the Proposition, and asked him whether he had made Bowles any such Promise. He answered me, "No truly, I have not, or I have not yet;" For I found him a little perplexed in his thoughts; and I myself was as much; but, after a little pause, I spake to this effect; "that, after the famous Gustavus (King of Sweedland) was slain in Germany, his Effigies in Wax (with those of his Queen and his Children) was carried up and down to be shown for two-pence; the Spectators being entertained with the Story of his Life, of which I remember this Passage, That, when this King entered Germany, he said, *That, if his shirt knew what he intended to do, he would tear it from his back, and burn it.* My Application of this saying to the General was designed to entreat him to sleep between this and the Walls of London; and, when he came within them, (which I doubted not but he would do very shortly,) then to open his Eyes and consider what he had to do. This Advice I also backed with such Reasons as I conceived to be most prevalent.

But it was not the General only, that was here solicited upon the King's behalf; some of his Officers being also set-upon, and promised great Rewards; one of whom was represented to have demanded no less than to be Lord Chancellor. This Sir Edward Hide (who afterwards held that great Office, when the King came-in) told the General, and the General told it to me.

The noon before this mighty Intrigue, the Lord Fairfax dined with the General privately in his Chamber; and I was then deputed to be his Host, at his publick Table; where he allowed a Half-Crown Ordinary (large Commons!) for Twenty Men. And the General, to return the Lord Fairfax's kindness, went one day and dined with him at his Country-House, where he and his Reti-

nue

Retinue hospitably entertained, and returned the same night.

Hither now were brought Orders from the Parliament, to march towards them. The General expected them sooner; and, in requital of their confidence in him, publicly cudgelled an Officer who had traduced him by saying, "This Monk will at last bring-in Charles Stewart;" charging his Officers to do the like to those under their Command that should so offend.

At York he receives orders from the Parliament to march with his army to London.

The Parliament were jealous of Fairfax's late rising for them; and therefore probably thought this no fit place for Monk to lodge his Army in; from whence I suppose he would not have removed Southward, without Orders; and, it might be, would have disputed it, had he been remanded Northwards. But, if he had so far yielded to the Parliament, as (over-ruled by the apprehensions of the Army of England, and by the advantages that might have been taken of him in Yorkshire, out-weighing all those that he could then reasonably propound to himself) to return from whence he came; yet his Army could not but have stomached the disgrace of the jealousy, to be sent-back into Scotland. And this resentment he might have made good use of; for there the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland would have been entirely at his devotion; and the assistance from thence, together with some farther modelling of his Army (the discontents in England dayly increasing too) might have produced some formidable disturbances to the Government, especially now that the Parliament could not well trust their own Army at home. But the coming of Orders to march forward, took-away the Umbrage of all distrusts. So Auditor Thompson, from London, found us at York; and, in the remainder of the General's March, was entertained by him as one of his Counsellors.

Here we left behind us Col. Fairfax's Regiment of Foot; and Major-General Morgan was sent-back to Scotland with his two Regiments of Horse and Foot, to secure the peace of that Kingdom. From York we made no stay, till we came to Nottingham.

From York he marches to Nottingham.

Hither came Dr. Cargis; Mr. Gumble being returned to us, from London, the Stage before, at Mansfield.

Now the General made a halt to bring-up the rear of his Army; and here our Counsellors had leisure to fall into debates. Among divers other Projects, a Subscription was propounded “that we should be obedient to the Parliament in all things, except the bringing-in of Charles Stuart.” But this was subtilly opposed, by Arguments to the effect following; “That this was the way to fall into the same Error with the English Army; to make ourselves Judges, and consequently Masters of the Parliament’s actions: for-whensoever they did any thing that disliked us, it was but suggesting that they were doing such things as tended to the bringing of him in; and so make ourselves our own Carvers.” So this was waved; and the rather, because the Parliament’s Commissioners were to meet us the next Stage, which was Leicester. However, the General (to remove all distrust of himself) yielded that a Letter should be sent in his Name, to his Country-men in the West; wherein were State-Reasons alledged, asserting the impossibility of the King’s return, and his protestation against it; for now, it seems, he was informed what hopes these Western Gentlemen had conceived of him.

Then to Leicester.
And there he is met
by Mr. Scot and Mr.
Robinson, two Com-
missioners from the
Parliament.

Then to Harborow.

As we entered the Town of Leicester, we saw the Irish Brigade drawn-up by Colonel Redman, and Colonel Bret: whom the General received with great courtesie, they being his cordial Friends. His Counterfeits, Mr. Scot and Mr. Robinson, the Parliament’s Commissioners, were now at hand. From hence, the next night, we came to Harborow, where divers citizens from London waited the General’s entrance. They complained of grievances, which he durst not promise to redress; for now Scot and Robinson (Councillors of State, and Abjurers of the King’s Family) were his Ears and his Mouth. This was a hard task for him to bear; and yet not so hard as it would have been to most other men; for he never loved to speak much, and cared for none that did. So he answered them in a few and wary words, with submission to his Superiors; yet, what his words did not promise, his Countenance seemed to do. But these Citizens came full of hopes to find a more kind reception: For he had sent their City a Letter out of Scotland, desiring their assistance;

ance; however care was taken by others, that they should not despair of him; and so they returned to London.

From this place 'till we came to Barnet, Scot and Robinson would still quarter in the same Inn with the General; that they might be present to answer the Addresses of the Country; of which the most famous were at Northampton and St. Albans.

The sum of the Desires both of the City and Country, were either a full and free Parliament, or the Restoration of the Secluded Members of this. And it was observed, that the Gentlemen who made these requests had not been *Cavaliers* (the name by which the Royal Party was distinguished) so that they were the less suspected by our Officers, who saw what the Sense of the Country was. Those who were present at the making of these Addresses, might have said that Monk was the Jupiter, and that Scot and Robinson made one Mercury; for they only were the Speakers, and answered all: The General's return consisting in a Nod, a Frown, or the Rubbing of his Forehead, if the Speech were long. But at St. Albans, after Sir Richard Temple had spoke long and well, Scot was turned into Mars, and told him "that he would first take-up the Sword, as Old as he was, before the things they petitioned-for, should be granted."

January the 28th. We came to St. Albans, which was our last Stage: And from hence Col. Lidcot (Scot and Robinson not being consulted) was sent to the Speaker, to desire that the Regiments which attended as Guards to the Parliament, might be distributed into Country-Quarters; which was, with some sort of difficulty, obtained; Though the Parliament had no reason to be diffident of the General; for his whole Army, with which he was to enter the Town, was somewhat less than that part which was to move-out; and he had left Four Regiments of his Marching-Army behind him; which were now a great way off. Besides that the Parliament had fresh experience of the restless Spirits of their English Soldiers; and they could not but look-upon their Scotch as men of a different Temper. Neither, indéed, could they do less for these, their Restorers, (who had taken this long

Then t Saint Albans, January 28, 1659-60.

March, to gratifie them) than to take them for their Guards, the smallness of their Number not being capable of working any notable change. And, further, when they were at London, they were not to be under the sole Command of Monk, because the Army was Governed by seven Commissioners; and Hazlerig stomached, that our General should be called by any other name than *Commissioner Monk*.

At St. Albans, besides Addresses made by the Gentry upon the publick account, the General was busied in receiving numerous Visits; both which were distasted by our Honourable Spies (Scot and Robinson) whosometimes in Civility, or for dispatch of their own business, would withdraw. But their Apartment was only distinguished from the General's by a Wainscot-Door, in which either they found, or made, a hole to hear and see. This the General took notice of, and complained of it to me; with a sort of scornful Indignation.

Hugh Peters preaches a remarkable sermon before General Monk at St. Alban's on a fast-day, Feb. 1, 1659 60.

But here we spent one day extraordinary at the Church; the Famous Hugh Peters, Mr. Lee of Hatfield, and another, carrying-on the Work of the Day, which was a Fast-Day. Peters super-erogated, and prayed a long Prayer in the General's Quarters too at Night. As for his Sermon, he managed it with some Dexterity at the first, allowing for the Cantings of his Expressions. His Text was *Psalm 107. v. 7. He led them forth by the right way, that they might go to the City where they dwell.* With his Fingers on the cushion he measured the right way from the Red Sea through the Wilderness to Canaan; told us it was not Forty days March, but God led Israel Forty years through the Wilderness, before they came thither; yet this was still the Lord's right way, who had led his People *crinkledom cum crankledom*. And he particularly descended into the lives of the *Patriarchs*; how they journey'd up and down, though there were promises of blessing and rest to them. Then he reviewed our civil Wars, our intervals of peace, and fresh distractions, and hopes of rest; but, though the Lord's people (he said) were not yet come to the City of Habitation, he was still leading them on in the right way, how dark soever his dispensations might appear to us. Before he concluded, he

seemed to me to preach his own Funeral Sermon, I looking-upon my self to be on the left side of the Cloud. Thus my little remarks of him, and his Fast, were at an end.

But it was, in those days, observed of an Army-Fast, "that it commonly proved the fore-runner of some solemn mischief, and rendered their Governours, (whose Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical was not owned by these kind of Subjects,) jealous of them. For they would not scruple religiously to meet to seek the Lord, without the Mandate and Direction of their Masters; And in Truth they knew so well at what Turning to find him, that their Seeking was never in vain."

February was now began; upon the second of which, the General moved with an easy March to Barnet. Here he parted with his long guests, Scot and Robinson, and took-up Quarters only for himself and his domestick retinue; so we were better accommodated. Much business was here dispatcht; Orders were distributed for our next day's March into Town, and that our Soldiers should demean themselves civilly in their Quarters, and pay for them; for our Money held-out still. But about midnight, Scot, (being frighted with a Letter from Westminster, intimating that the Soldiers who were to leave their old quarters, were fallen into a high Mutiny, and that there was danger that they would joyn with the Prentices, who cryed-up in the streets for a Free-Parliament,) passionately desired, or, rather, by his Authority required, the General immediately to beat his drums and march. The very posture of Scot's coming-in to us with his Night-Gown, Cap, and Slippers, might have made us believe that the danger was eminent. But the General calmly answer'd him, *I will undertake for this Night's Disturbance, (says he) and be early enough in the Morning to prevent any mischief.* However, he yielded that a Messenger should be sent to see and report what the matter was. There *had* been an Uproar indeed: but it was soon quasht, and the Soldiers were leaving the Town as the Messenger enter'd it. But the motion for such a hasty March, was looked-upon as an Artifice of Scot's, so to mingle the Soldiers of both Armies, that they might be the less at the General's Devotion.

The General and his army march to Barnet, Feb. 2, 1659-60.

They are alarmed by a report of a mutiny amongst the soldiers in London.

The General and his
army march to Lon-
don, Feb. 3, 1659-60.

And is lodged in the
Prince of Wales's
apartments at
Whitehall.

He receives a pri-
vate intimation of a
design formed
against him in the
Parliament.

The next day, before we came to Highgate, the General drew up his Forces, which consisted of Four Regiments of Foot, and Three of Horse; their Number being 5800, allowing 1000 to each Regiment of Foot; and 600 to each Regiment of Horse, besides Officers. We entered the Town at Gray's Inn-lane; and, the Bells ringing as we passed along, stopped at the Rolls, before the Speaker's door; who was not yet returned from the House; but we met him in the Strand, at the opening of the Street. The General alighted, and complemented (after his Soldier's fashion) this our Representative of Sovereignty, for the Mace was in the Coach; and so we came to Whitehall. The General's apartment there was the Prince's lodgings, and his servants were all such. Here our Butler, Sir Ralph Mort, (who at Holyrood-house in Scotland, had promised to give a bottle of wine at Whitehall on Candlemas-day) was now mindful of his promise, and his Prophesie, and presented me with one; and this was but the day after it. This was a merry fellow, who, with a Table-knife, had been mock-Knighted into the name by the late King at Oxford, (being at Supper) upon his relating the dangers he had escaped, in bringing intelligence from Newarke. We had more of this Stamp in our Family, who had served in the Wars for Charles the First. Here we rested on Saturday and Sunday, which are the Jewish and Christian Sabbaths: for we were come into a new World, and would fain please All.

But on Sunday the General was disturbed by a secret Information, which was this. A Son of Secretary Scot's, who lodged in one Mr. Sturdy's house in Russel-street, had, it seems, so great a confidence in his Landlord, (though a Romanist,) that, upon discourse, he revealed a great secret to him; viz. "that not only Monk's power for commanding the Army should be taken from him, in a few days, but that he should be sent to the Tower, and questioned for his Life; and that it was not doubted but that such things would be proved against him as would take-off his Head from his broad shoulders." Sturdy, very early in the Morning, came to Captain Morrice, (an honest Cavalier of his acquaintance in the City,) and revealed to him the Discourse of Scot's Son. Whereupon
Morrice

Morrice forthwith carries this Sturdy to Mr. Kendall and Mr. James Muddiford, who were related to the General, and they bring him with them to Whitehall. The General gave so much credit to this Relation, that Sturdy, for some time afterward, rode in the Life-guard. Thus much Captain Morrice, well known in the City, can avouch.

On Monday, the General saw the face of his Masters in the House, received solemn Thanks from them by their Speaker, and returned his to them; but, because he took upon him to mind them of some things which he judged were for the publick good, it was not well relished by some; and, particularly, not by Scot and Robinson; where flected upon him, as if he sought to impose his own sense of things upon the House. Yet this was past-over, they being content to impute it to his affection for their service, rather than to any distaste he had for their proceedings. Thus (having been first nominated one of their new-modelled Council of State) he was invited to take his place among them. But then every Counsellor of State was, by order of Parliament, to renounce the title and pretences of Charles Stuart, and all the Descendants of the lineage of King James; nay, and of all other single persons who should pretend to the Government of these Nations: All this was to be done too by the solemnity of an Oath.

This had been propounded to him before, by those who had argued to this effect, for the necessity of it. That it was high time for them to discriminate their own party, that at last they might come to know whom they could trust; it being now found that there had been a great defection, even among themselves. The General was not unprovided of an answer, and so craves leave to demur; adding that he had not seen any good come of their promissory Oathes, those who took them making no scruple to break them. He instanced in the Covenant and Engagement; and suggested that seven, besides himself, who were nominated to be of the Council of State, had not yet abjured; besides that he did not know how it would relish with his Army, who were very tender in that point.

He attends the Parliament and receives their thanks for his services.

And is invited to become a member of the Council of State.

He refuses to take an oath to renounce the title of the late king's family to the crown.

And indeed, I knew some of them who (though no friends to Monarchy, yet) had taken-up a notion that it was not lawful to swear against the Providence of God. But, that they might see that they had no reason to suspect him, or his army, he desired that they would make trial of his and their fidelity and obedience to them; and, if they found that he either disobeyed, or disputed, their Orders, he was then in their power; for he brought not an Army with him that was great enough to make them jealous of him; having sent-back a great part of his forces into Scotland, after he understood that they were established in their power.

Hitherto his Actions had not been such as, in the least degree, to make the Parliament or Council of State, distrustful of him; nay, they were rather such as ought to have produced a good opinion of his constancy to them, not only by his sending a great part of his Army back, after they were restored; but also by contending so eagerly for them: For, when a Treaty between both Armies was first propounded, and the Articles of it were debated in Scotland; it was with great difficulty that he yielded to the calling of another Parliament: and, when he did, he recommended this his condescension to his Commissioners, as the great secret of their Trust, charging them to try all ways for an accommodation, before that should be discovered; nay, and broke the Agreement too, as much for this reason as any other; and removed Colonel Wilks from his Command, because he had disclosed this Instruction unnecessarily; he resolutely adhering to the Parliament of the Eleventh of October, and no other. And, indeed, no other could so well have done his business: for this was become odious to his People. But fears and jealousies are protestations *contrà factum*; to which, besides popular expectations at home, the King's Court abroad administered fuel: for adversity will lay hold on a bull-rush.

At this time a Gentleman (whose sufferings were better known to me than I to him) came to me and told me, with great secresie, what hopes there were beyond Sea of Monk's march; expressing a desire to gain some from me; but I sent him away discontented. The General's
march

march without orders, might (at first) reasonably create some diffidence ; but it was soon authorized, and countenanced by the coming of Orders, and Commissioners, from what we were obliged to call a Parliament.

It was now the General's business to overcome Scot's suspicions of him; as knowing him to be his Enemy, and to have plotted his ruin. Scot, in our march, had very often complained of the great malignancy of the City of London; (for which, the coming of it's Commissioners gave occasion enough) but the General would comfort him by hinting that the Parliament needed not to fear any danger thence, so long as they had an Army by them: And, it seems, he had promised him to take-down the Stomach of the City, if need required. The necessity at this time was eminent; for now the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council-men of London by a publick vote, declared "that they would pay no more Taxes and Contributions, till the Parliament was filled-up with equal Representatives of the People." Before this, only a few popular tumults gave the Government a disturbance; but now the Authority of the whole City rebelled against the Men of Westminster. And I may safely say, that the Citizens the rather made choice of this time, because the General (only with his Scotch Army) was in their Suburbs, and at Westminster; of whom they had entertained good hopes, from the time that divers Citizens of good note had given the General visits at St. Albans and Barnet. They knew too, that many of the Officers had relations and Friends among them; nor did any Citizens return from us with the ill news of despair; nay, some of them used to carry more hopes back than they had reason for; their affection for their Country supplying the deficiency of promises from us. Thus most of them hoped well, and none would despair of Monk and his Army.

On Tuesday night the General was detained at the Council of State till past two in the Morning; which (he being no Member as yet, because no Abjurer) created some suspicions in his Friends and Servants, as if the Council meant not well towards him; and by some it was whispered as if it was designed that he should be sent to the Tower. Now, to speak the Truth, the Council might

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The Corporation of the City of London declares against the authority of the Parliament to levy taxes on the people.

N. B.

N. B.

By the order of the Council of State, General Monk and his army put down the gates of London, Feb. 9, 1659-60,

(without reproach of jealousy upon their wisdom) have suspected that the City would not have thus boldly remonstrated, had not Monk given them some secret encouragement.

But his Superlative foresight of things defeated the City, the Council of State, and his Friends, and all. For he accepted of orders, and the next day executed them: He went into the City, and, after he had placed his main Guards for his own Security, he distributed the remainder of his small Army to their several posts, charged them to pull-down the City-gates; break their Port-cullices, and pluck-up their Posts and Chains; himself, in the mean time sending-for and imprisoning the most daring and disaffected Members of the Common-Council, pursuant to his Orders.

His army is disgusted at being so employed.

It is God's prerogative to change times and seasons, and to set-up and pull-down Kings and Governments. And this was the real fatal crisis that so soon changed the face of things, and made the Revolution so swift. For never did Soldiers with so much regret obey their General; obeyed indeed he was, but with scorn to them who commanded their Commander. It was a pretty medley of passion, when I saw them both merry and angry at this odious drudgery: and a lively pen, that had observed and could express their humours, might have made a play of it. This was the carriage of the ordinary Soldiery; but our Officers of note ran wholly into discontent, and offered-up their Commissions to the General. But he was dark, and chewed his Tobacco; and I took notice that he was more angry at the spies that were about him (as Colonel Alured and others) than at the work he was doing. Hither came his amazed friends, and durst not say a word to him. But I was not only amazed, but inwardly repented of what I had said to him at York: (imagining that my words, then, were not only for his safety, but for his honour) *not to have the game taken out of his hands.*

But no accident of War, (no, not if we had engaged into blood against Lambert) could have more fully assured his Army unto him; for now the Parliament was detestable even to us, their Restorers. That this was his own contrivance

contrivance (and, if so, a Master Piece of cunning) I have these Inducements to believe. Scot solemnly told Col. Wetham, that Monk offered himself to him to do this odious action, and that the Council of State would not have put him upon it, had it not been for him, Scot, who had assured them that Monk would undertake it. Thus much Scot alledged for himself to Wetham, who charged the Change of the Government upon this Miscarriage; Scot had little reason to dissemble (you may be sure) when he saw his day was lost, and his life too; for he sat upon his Sovereign's. That Scot thus excused himself to Wetham, I will name my Voucher; viz. Dr. Barrow (the Judge-Advocate of his Majesty's Army and Guards) a Gentleman who well deserved of the General for his prudence and integrity; for he was highly serviceable to him from his first declaring against the Army, and so continued. Nay, I soon after modestly asked the General how he was engaged to undertake this detestable piece of service; he merrily answered me, *This was a Trick you knew not of;* and *I do assure you that I could not have done my Business so soon without it, and possibly not at all.*

So I confessed that his Wisdom out-witted my expectations; for I thought he would at first have lodged his Colours within the Walls of London: yet true it is that it was easy for him to foresee that the City, upon his coming to Town, would run into discontents; for they looked upon him as a Lover of his Country's Freedom, and therefore judged that he would not endeavour to uphold a power that was not only usurped, but contemptible and ridiculous; they taking it in a great disdain, that a bare Remnant of a House of Commons legally dissolved, should give Laws to their Fellow-Subjects; supporting themselves by an Army, the great Officers of which put them in and out, and out and in, at their pleasure. I knew too, that he would lay hold of the first advantages against the Men of Westminster; and advantages, besides this, could not but be offered. For they longed to fall upon the sequestration of all those Gentlemen who had been in Booth's Conspiracy. Now the General could not in honour see them perish, because himself was concerned

cerned in it: neither was he without his suspicions that some could prove it against him; besides, that his power was not long-lived, and he must have soon found it so, were it but from his Fellow-Commissioners for governing the Army, whose Interests were bound-up with that of the Parliament.

The General and his army return from the City of London, to their former quarters.

On Friday, February 10th, the General returned from the City to Whitehall, and his Scottish Army to their quarters in the Suburbs, and Westminster. This some Members of the Council of State signified they were displeased-at; saying, that his return was without their orders. And in truth it was against them: for he was to stay there till further Order, and they had more work for him there. Thus would the Parliament have rewarded this City, for their assistance against the late King!

The conduct of the Anabaptists and other republican Sectaries.

At this time the Anabaptists and such-like Sectaries in and about the City (who were afraid of Peace and a National Interest) took heart at the pulling-down of the City Gates, and fell to remonstrating to the Parliament, that none were fit to bear any Office, civil or military, that would not abjure Charles Stewart, and his Title and Family. This was understood to have been the artifice of some Abjurers in the Council of State, to win-over assistance to their narrow and almost-despised Party. And could they have gained the point of encouraging Petitioners of this nature; I doubt not to say but that the Council of State would have given a lift to the Parliament itself, as Traitors to their Trust, because they were such squeamish rebels, as not to abjure the heirs of the Crown. By this means to have engrossed the Sovereignty to themselves, would have been no hard matter, had but Monk been their friend in reality, as in appearance he was their Servant, and the Executioner of their odious Orders.

These Sectaries most grossly flattered the Parliament in their Petition, and renowned them for their glorious actions; tho' these were the very men, who, but a few weeks before, had been of another temper, being Lambert's confidants, and the Parliament's enemies. It was further observed by us, in this little time we had been in Town, that the Parliament began to encourage those
who

who had appeared in the English army against them. Ludlow sat in the house, though he had been accused of Treason by the Irish Officers: and it was said that some of the house kept Correspondence with Lambert himself. This our Officers looked-upon as done in diffidence of them and their General, who had been their restorers, and had approved themselves their faithful Servants in the day of Trial. Soldiers are not ordinarily that crafty kind of men that can dissemble injuries: and some of them were so just to their Country, as not to think it worth their pay to uphold only a few men in an arbitrary Tyranny, contrary to the Sense of the whole Nation. Of this sort the boldest came to the General, dutifully and freely to represent to him the State of things, and that some speedy remedy was of necessity to be thought-upon and applyed. The General was too wise to lose this advantage: but, however, seemed to require time to deliberate on it. But they earnestly replied, that, if something was not forthwith done, to bear their witness against such proceedings, he would soon be lost, and they with him; but he in the first place, because he had now more enemies in the Council of State, and Parliament too, than he dreamt-of; for, tho' he had executed his Orders against the City, and thereby rendered himself odious to the free-born people: yet the manner of doing it was such, as made him suspected to his Task-masters.

The General yielded at length to their fears and Counsels, and the rather, for that he was assured of the Tower of London, the Lieutenant of it (Col. Morley) having before offered it to him. This the noble Colonel had done in the City, (pitying the consternation of its Citizens) when he saw what work was doing, what influence it would have upon the Country. In all secrecy therefore it was debated and soon agreed-upon, that a Letter should be sent to the Parliament the day following; and, late at night Orders were issued that our Officers (the more principal of them) should meet early at the General's lodgings the next morning: to whom the occasion of the convening them was expounded by our Secretaries of the night, who had set-up, and penned the Letter

General Monk and his Officers send a bold Letter of Advice to the Parliament. Feb. 11, 1659-60.

to the Parliament. Their assent to it was desired, the General being present : he subscribed it first, and they in their Order set their hands to it. The tenor of this Letter was very peremptory, *viz. That by the Friday following they should send-forth writs to fill-up all the vacant places in the House : and, when that was done, fix a determinate time to their own sitting, and give place to another Parliament.*

This now was a state of War between the Scottish Army and the Parliament. Heretofore when Cromwell and Lambert turned these few Members of the House of Commons out of their place at Westminster, they did but respite the exercise of their power ; and it was their good chance to return again to it : for their Servants, who so usurped upon them, drove on the same interest still with themselves, and ruled by the force of an Army, which protected the Lives and Fortunes of these Parliament-men. Now, all of them being equally guilty, they were never questioned for what they had done, but enjoyed the Peace and Liberty of Subjects, even when, by their own Indiscretion, and the restless Ambition of the great Officers of the Army, they lost the Sovereignty. Whereas this Letter now forced them to be their own Executioners within their walls of Empire : for to fill-up the house with new-elected Members out of the Country, at a time when every village was so exasperated against them, in plain English amounted to no less. For they were sure to be out-voted, and consequently liable to be questioned.

General Monk, with his Army, marches again into the City of London, and is reconciled to the Citizens. Feb. 11, 1659-60.

The General sent this Letter to the House by two Colonels (Cloberry and Lydcot) and not staying for an Answer to it, puts himself at the head of his Army, marcheth into Finsbury Fields, and from thence sends to the Lord-Mayor of London, desiring that quarters might presently be set-out for his men within the City. Our Quarter-Masters had no Orders to intimate the breach that was made between our Army and the Parliament : and so they found the Lord-Mayor of London somewhat astonished at this Message : but he soon after understood the end of his coming ; for some of the Citizens were earlier informed of it. As soon as the General

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neral left Whitehall, I went into the City; and, not knowing where he would quarter that night, I came to the *Three Tuns* Tavern before Guildhall, where the General had quartered two nights before. I entered the Tavern with a servant and a portmanteau, and asked for a room; which I had scarce got into, but wine followed me as a present from some Citizens, desiring leave to drink their morning's draught with me. I accepted of the civility, but, in requital of their wine and company, was asked what news? and what might be the meaning of my so returning hither. I freely told them that we were not now the same men that we were two days ago; and that this they should find, ere night, to the full satisfaction of the injuries done them. The good men were transported with joy; and most of them left me and their wine and all, to run and communicate this hopeful news.

A Citizen of good quality (Mr. William Stanly) stayed longer; and invited me to his house to dinner, and most courteously lodged me there, during the General's stay in the City; for it happened not to be far from his quarters. This I mention out of a grateful remembrance of his hospitality.

The General came late into the City, and his army later, staying for the Lord Mayor's return to his messengers for quartering his men. When they entered, they were welcomed as the Restorers of their Country's freedom. Bells, bonfires, wine, and several largesses of money among our Soldiers, being the attestations of the Citizens joy. This was Saturday, February 11th, renowned for the night of *burning the Rump* (for thus the young men, who were haters of this long-usurped power, called the Parliament): Butchers had quick trading for their Rumps, and many Cooks lost their Fees.

The Parliament closely debated upon the Letter sent them, and, wisely dissembling the insolency of Monk and his Officers, in prescribing rules to them, gave them thanks for their joynt care, with them, of the Commonwealth, assuring them over and above, that they were considering of Qualifications for the next Parliament. With this message came Scot and Robinson, with some others, that evening into the City to the General; adding that his

return

The Citizens of London are oveijoyed at the change in Monk's conduct. Saturday Feb, 11, 1659-60.

return to Whitehall was required by the Council of State, (it being for their safety) and that, if he and his Army kept their old quarters, they would be better satisfied with their proceeding (being near them); but, if his Army continued in the City, they were afraid (they said) that it would be debauched from its obedience to the Parliament; they looking upon the Citizens as enemies to the Government. The General gave them no other reply, but that, *If the Parliament will do as they are desired in my Letter, they need not fear but all things will go well.*

The noise of Scot and Robinson's coming to the General so alarmed the Prentices in the streets; that they were searched-for as strictly as were the Spies that came to Jericho. The General was now at the Bull's-head Tavern in Cheapside. The streets were thronged; Mr. Gumble and I were in a coach, that was becalmed in a crowd, coming from Guildhall, where the General had been to expound the end of his coming. Now the Prentices went, it seems, from coach to coach in quest of Scot and Robinson; and when they looked into ours, they cried out, *Here they are.* Plenty of dirt was brought against us in shovels from the kennel, we defending ourselves with the curtains of the coach as well as we could, till the mistake was over; which it soon was, by the means of our Officers. But the young mens' fury was much longer-liv'd; for, in roasting the Rump, it was scarce cool till Sunday morning.

There was now a report that the Parliament had taken-away the General's Commission; and there was something of truth in it too; for, upon the Letter sent them, which so much threatened their very being, they called for he names of their Commissioners for governing their army, retrenched two of them, and constituted only five (of which Monk was one), and of which number three were to be a Quorum. But, it being unhappily moved whether Monk should be of it, it was carried in the negative: So, though his Commission was not formally voted from him, (for that they durst not do), yet virtually it was, and Monk and Morley were left to stem the tide against Hazelrigg, Alured, and Walton.

The General that night removed from Cheapside, after he had disposed his men into quarters, and takes-up his
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own at the Glasshouse, where there was one large room set apart for him to receive the grateful visits of the Citizens, who had already forgot their yesterday's injuries; and having, long before this, repented that their Treasure and their Arms had been successfully employed against their Prince and their Country, they now promised them to Monk, hoping for a better issue of both; and in this he did not deceive them.

The Council of State still dissembled the affronts put upon them by their late Vassal, and invited him afresh to take his place among them, urging that the necessity of the Commonwealth required his presence there, and employed such men as were thought to have influence upon him.

This startled his friends about him, and the City too, as if he intended to hearken to these Counsels, and to desert them. This was only the effect of his native cunning, that so the men of Whitehall might not wholly despair of him; for he gained time by it, he being to fix his Army for his new designs, which in one day could not be brought to part with its principles and prejudices. Nay, he was so provident amidst the throng of Business and visits, that he took care that the Saturday's-Post should carry no other news of that day to the several parts of the army distributed in the country, than what was dictated by his own order.

So Monk intimated-back to the Council of State, that they were the cause of his (and of divers others who were chosen to be of that number) not sitting among them; for he was resolved not to take the *Oath of Abjuration*.

Neither was this all the advantage that he had against them. For they had now distributed several thousands of Arms out of their stores to those who, by their factious Principles, were known to be enemies to their, or any, Government. Those arms, he desired, might be recall'd, in regard that they gave offence to his Army, and to all sober men.

The Parliament and Council of State, upon the first revolt of Monk, and his retiring to the City with his Army, easily saw what they were to trust to; however, they still courted his return. But, not trusting to the charms of words to allure him, they distributed those arms to Ana-

baptists and Fifth-Monarchy-men, and employed Agitators in their Army (now, by Monk's successful artifice, dispersed in Country-Quarters) to whisper his Treason against the Parliament, and to give-out openly, that Charles Stuart was likely to come-in.

Sir Arthur Hazelrigg was taxed, by the General, as the Promoter of this ill Office. But he had not the courage to own it, or (though as good a General as himself,) to rendezvous his Country-Army against Monk's in the City. *But it was God's time.*

For now the Secluded Members of 1648 (who in the House of Commons had refused to serve the Army's design of the total subversion of Monarchy in the Royal Line) began to appear; and that not without some secret encouragement neither. The General had before moved it, by some of his confidants; and he looked-upon it as the easiest and safest change he could make on the sudden, and the most consistent with his Declaration from Scotland.

These Gentlemen, (the General now being at Draper's-Hall) insist upon their Re-admission, but with a degree of modesty and prudence becoming their condition; for they were then much opposed by the Zealots of Oligarchy, *who loved their Room better than their Company.* These urged Monk's Declaration, when he first appeared for them against the Army, that he was *for the Parliament as it sat on the 11th of October.* The Secluded replied, that their Re-admission was no infringement of it; for the same Parliament would sit still; adding further, that the Purport of that *Declaration* was to *reduce* the Military Power in Obedience to the Civil; and that they had been secluded from the House only by force of the Sword; they having no more forfeited their right of sitting there, than had the other. It was said that, in Law, neither had any.

These were the Occurrences of the more publick remark, for about a week; at the end of which, the General thought it not safe to hold his design any longer in suspense; for the Army, in several parts in the Country, began to grow mutinous, and some of our Officers to express their fears: wherefore he convened a select number of both Parties to debate upon the affair, several of his

Debates between the sitting Members of Parliament and the secluded Members, concerning the Re-admission of the latter.

his own Officers being present. The *sitting Members* had nothing to alledge (beside their love of power) but their own safety, and the Army's, the conscience of the godly, and the Sale of publick Lands; all which, they feared, would be disturbed by the Introduction of the *secluded Members*: But the latter gave satisfactory answers to all these objections, and engaged upon their Paroll (over and above) that they would not look upon what had been done since their Seclusion, nor disturb the propriety, or pretences, of any; but would amicably sit and act for the good of their Country, till, by their dissolution, they made way for another Parliament. This, now, was so fair a proposition, that no Englishman who had any sense of the distractions of these Nations, and love to the Commonwealth, could any way except against it. Besides that, all their returns were managed with such modesty of words and behaviour, that our Officers soon entertained a very good opinion of the Secluded. Nay, and many even of the sitting Members themselves, that were there present, exprest a disposition to give way to their Re-admission; only they could not give their Votes for it, but in the House. Thus ended the Conference; and in the close of it, one or two of our Officers (more discerning, or more busie, than the rest) moved that the Government might be declared to be but a Commonwealth, and a further security devised for the Sale of the Publick Lands. This pinched; but it was artificially shuffled-off by suggesting, that the Writs to be issued-out for the next Parliament, must necessarily run in the Name and Style of *the Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of England*; and that the State of Publick Lands was already as secure as the Government could make it.

General Monk and his Officers resolve to re-admit the secluded Members.

The Men at Westminster understanding that the *secluded Members* were like to keep House with them again, began to be very froward upon it, as if they should not have Elbow-room enough; yet they durst not remonstrate against it, because they could not get the crafty General (who was now judged capable, with a little help, of giving check to the Army) out of his Hole in the City: Beside that, the popular cry ran for a *full and free Parliament*. This Rump in the last week's debate, touching

Qualifications for Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament, having also exasperated and incensed the People, by voting as if none were fit to serve in that capacity for the future, who had not contracted equal guilt with themselves. Now, to obviate Monk's design to restore the *secluded Members*, some of them fell to offering at a speedy resignation of their own power; giving-out that, within a few days, they would dispatch the qualifications before them, for the next Parliament; for they thought it not fit to resign-up their authority to those who would cut their Throats: But they found it to be too late for this *Pin* to be driven-forward.

For the General having gained, in appearance at least, the consent of his Officers for the re-sitting of the *secluded Members* upon certain conditions, they, all of them that were in and about the town, were sent-for; and the Articles of their Re-admission (which were these following) were read to them.

The Conditions of
their Re-admission.

1. To settle the Command of the Armies in the Three Nations, as might best secure the common Peace and Safety of them.

2. To raise a Tax for the payment of the Arrears of the Army and Navy; and what further Supplies should be found necessary for the support of the Forces, and government of the Commonwealth.

3. To issue-forth Writs for a Parliament, to sit at Westminster, the 20th of April then next ensuing; and to constitute a Council of State to see this done.

4. To consent to their own Dissolution, by a time that should be limited unto them.

To which, with cheerfulness, they agreed and subscribed; and before they left the place (in confidence that Monk was a true Patriot) promised to make him Commander in Chief, both by Sea and Land. Thus they went-away rejoicing, that they should be accounted worthy to be the Restorers of their Country's freedom.

The secluded Mem-
bers are restored to
their Seats in Parlia-
ment. Feb. 21,
1659-60.

So on Tuesday, February the 21st, these Gentlemen met the General at Whitehall; (for to that end only he returned thither) he spoke some few words to them, reminding them chiefly of their promises to him, and assuring them that he would not impose any new thing upon

upon them; and he was as good as his word. That morning they were conducted by Adjutant Miller, to take their former places in the House of Commons; which, as soon as they entered, some of the *sitting Members* arose in a heat, and left the House: Hazelrig and others, openly cried-out (but too late) that Monk was a traitor. But Hazelrig met with no other punishment afterwards, for his treason., than his own native rage and fury.

Some of the Noble Peers, who had formerly agreed with the House of Commons to draw the Sword against their King, watched the Re-admittance of these secluded Members, and would have entered their own House; but the General, having, before, intimation of their intents, commanded Miller to withstand them, in case any such attempt should be made. So the surly Soldier obeyed his General's orders, though he was threatened that he did he knew not what. Now, because the General owned this, one of their Lordships was, afterwards, even with him, by labouring to have discovered a *Gun-Powder-Treason* at the Cock-Pit.

The General had now quitted the City, and come to Whitehall, where, in the evening, he was informed of that day's Transactions of the Parliament. He was now his *Excellency, Captain-General of all the Forces of the Commonwealth, both by Land and Sea*; save only that at Sea, General Montague had equal authority with him. In this there was a failure of promise: but he had work enough to do at Land; and Ambition was not his aim.

General Monk returns from the City to Whitehall.

This day was spent by the General, and his Officers, in signing Copies of Letters to be sent to the Commanders of the Armies in Scotland and Ireland, and to several Colonels and Commanders of Garrisons in England; in which it was signified that they had let-in the secluded Members to the House; and they alledged the necessity of doing it, to preserve and enlarge the Interest of the Commonwealth; declaring that they were still upon the same bottom of a *free State*; and that they would take care that what they had purchased at the expence of their blood, should not be lost: and that they would effectually mediate with the next Parliament, (which was to sit in April next) that the Publick Sale of Lands should be confirmed; and representing that without another Parliament,

the Commonwealth could not be established against pretenders;—and desiring their dear Brethren and Fellow-Soldiers to have a vigilant eye upon all such as should presume to abet the pretences of Charles Stuart, or any other single person, or authority, whatsoever. Then they were solicited to send-up some Officer to signify their concurrence with the Lord-General Monk and his Officers; adding further (to cry *Clink in the Close*) that no Money could have been had to pay the Arrears of the Army and Navy, without the effusion of Blood, unless they had let-in the secluded Members. So be it. As for our own Soldiers, they soon learned that this was the *good old Cause* still: this being the same Parliament that began the War against the late King.

The General went to bed that night, not late, but in a very good humour. And indeed he had good reason for it: for now he had perfected his own safety, and stood no longer in fear of being questioned for interesting himself in Booth's Conspiracy. I came into his Chamber, and understood he was in bed; so I was about to retire, but, his Lady entertaining me with discourse, he perceived that I was in the Chamber, and so commanded me to his bed-side, where I found him satisfied with what he had done, and pleasant with me. I told him I came (over and above the Duty of my Attendance) to give him thanks for his day's work. He answered me (with great courtesy of words), *No, no; This is none of your Business; you but dissemble with me; You come now for somewhat else, and I believe I know for what.* I humbly asked him what he could think I came for? *Sit-down, then* (says he), *and I'll tell you. You come for Bishops.* He spake it not so softly, but that his Lady over-heard it, and mistook it as my proposal; at which she was angry. But the curtains and the General's Favour skreen'd me; he assuring her, that I had not spoken to him of Bishops. So she went-off; but he detained me with this serious Discourse upon the Thing; "that he thought this could never be done; for *not only their Lands are sold*, (says he), *but the Temper of the Nation is against them.*" I told him, that as yet he could not see the Temper of the Nation, the Royal Party having judged it prudence not

to appear openly, or make any Addresses. But, since he had mentioned it, I entreated him to grant me one Request; which was, that he would not be drawn to engage against them; and this I thought he might safely grant me, now, who would not be ensnared to abjure the King and the Royal Family. He paused a while (as his Manner was), and, taking me by the Hand, *Well, then;* (said he), *so much I will promise you, that I will not be engaged against Bishops.* I thank'd him, and kissed his Hand; adding, that it was best to leave it to God's Providence and the next Parliament, when we should be able to discern the Temper of the Nation, in reference both to Church and State.

The Secluded Members, from all Parts of the Kingdom, returned to the House of Commons, which was now open for them, of which number Mr. Morrice of Devon was one. This Gentleman was somewhat allied to the General, but more to his Favour, than to his Blood; for he had a great opinion of his Prudence and Integrity. He was one that much conversed with Books, and had lately written one against the Practice of Independent Teachers; who would admit none, in Parochial Cures, to the Lord's Supper, but such only as, being distinguished by their Separation, were most peculiarly their own Flock. This had rendered him very grateful to the Presbyterians, whose Cause he seemed most to serve: for the Ministers of the Church of England were generally contented with the Exercise of their Religion in private Houses; though even these, also, were often disturbed by Soldiers, or Constables, who used to hale them from their very Communion-Tables, upon the more solemn Festivals of their despised Church, rending their Surplices, (where any were used,) and tearing their Mass-Books (for that was the Name by which the crafty Statesman, and the more juggling Gospeller, taught the undiscerning Multitude to call the English Liturgy) into Pieces.

The General, from, and before, the beginning of this Enterprize, had pretended to be a Presbyterian, (and indeed I knew his Godmother, who did her share too) and had not yet renounced his Faith. But now it most

Mr. Morrice takes his Seat in Parliament as one of the Secluded Members.

behoved him to appear one, and to act his part well in it; for it was his *last*: Wherefore Mr. Morrice was received into his House. This pleased his new Masters at Westminster, who were most of them of this Religion; some few only excepted, who, by beholding the Calamities of the Church, and their own Errors, had been converted to a better Esteem of Episcopacy, which the Learning of Mr. Morrice could not but favour; so that I looked upon him to have the good Repute only of a Presbyterian. Him the General retained as his Elbow-Counsellor, and a State-Blind; concealing his own Sense of Things, and very often speaking contrary to his own Thoughts, that so he might better understand the Sense of others, and take his Measures accordingly. This is a sort of cunning which will fail no man, who meets with the plain and open-hearted. But, whether this was inherent in the General's Temper, (and consequently a natural Wisdom) or acquir'd by living so many years, both in and under Command, among such whose Cause and Principles he hated, I will not be positive in the Determination; but I incline to believe it was the latter. This I the rather mention, because it hath been said that Mr. Morrice found him obstinate against the King's Restauration. Something to this purpose was once told the General, in my hearing, (possibly with a design to do the good man an injury); but I know how he resented it. And, if Mr. Morrice did entertain any such Opinion, I can assure him and others, that he was not the only man that did so; for after we came to town, where the General received the visits of many worthy men, who loved their country, and of whom some were then in authority. These Gentlemen took the freedom of speaking and propounding to him what they thought expedient for the publick Good. Nor in truth have they been wanting to themselves to represent their Doings to advantage, which 'tis fit to suppose were great and real, because the rewards of them were such; nor ought any to envy them, because their assistance was seasonable, they concurring with the General for the Redemption of their Country's Freedom. But yet I do not believe that they added any great weight to his honourable designs; for I

will

will ask no leave to assume to myself this honour, that I knew his Loyalty to his Prince to be the most firm, when the time to shew it was most hazardous: and I am well acquainted with the scornful Smiles and Words he used to give of such Bravado-pretenders, as sought to lessen his merit.

And now the Ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion daily frequented St. James's; they were in a hopeful expectation that all those Sects who had supplanted them, would, with little difficulty, be put under their feet; that themselves alone should inherit the Blessing; the Church of England at that time being below their fear (for Monk was the Defender of their Faith, and had wrested the Sword out of the Army's (their Enemies) hands. And indeed, he was their zealous Votary; for one Lord's-day, he and his Lady went and *communicated* at Mr. Calamy's Church, who afterward so far prevailed with him, that none were to preach before him, but such only as he recommended. I, not knowing that he had so far yielded to Calamy, consented that Dr. Pierson (the now Right Reverend and learned Bishop of Chester) should preach for me on a Sunday morning. He came early to my chamber; but, as we were ready to go to Church, we found two Ministers (sent from Mr. Calamy) come to do the Work of the Day among us; but their Faces and Habits were strangely disguised with mud and dirt; for their Coach had overthrown them, by the Park-wall, behind the Pell-mell. I took what care I could to render them fit to appear, and desired that but one of them would preach *that* day, and the other should the *next*; Mr. Pierson being present, whom they knew. This would not satisfy them; nor could I prevail with the General to have him preach, though I got Mr. Morrice to be my Advocate, who kindly represented the Learning and peaceable temper of Mr. Pierson. To this I might add a *Fast* kept at St. Paul's, where Dr. Gauden preached; his very Text pointing at more than the Return of the *Secluded Members*. It was Jer. 6. 14. *They have healed also the hurt of the Daughter of my People slightly; saying, Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace.* This Doctor had, before, bewailed the lamentable state of the Church of England,

The views and hopes of the Presbyterians at this time. March, 1659-60.

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in a printed Folio ; being an elegant Preacher, and dying afterwards Bishop of Exon. So much for the Affairs of the Church.

The Parliament appoints a new Council of State.

But the Civil and Military Affairs were upon the wheel of motion ; for the Parliament constituted a new Council of State, took off the Engagement that was upon the file against the King and House of Lords, and had been imposed on the Subject, *Anno* 1648, when the Army (after the Murder of Charles the First) had set-up the remainder of the House of Commons for a Free State ; but the solemn League and Covenant, (which was for Monarchy, in some sense, but, in all, against Prelacy) hung still on the Walls of the House of Commons, with the Names of the Renowned Subscribers ; being left to the censure of the next Parliament.

The General kept a vigilant eye upon his Enemy the Army ; set new Colonels at the head of most Regiments, and removed their inferior Officers, as they were represented to be either troublesome, or disaffected. But the Parliament eased him of much trouble, by settling the Militia, in which neither Independent, Anabaptist, Fifth-Monarchy-man, or Quaker, were allowed any sort of Command ; a Cavalier being now become a less odious name. Thus were things carried all over the Kingdom, and a fair prospect given of the King's return, all the ambitious Officers of the Marching Army being laid aside.

Colonel Overton, the Governor of Hull, whose ambition was equal with theirs, thought this a fit time to appear, and draw-over the Malcontents of the Army (which every day increased in number) to his party. His Garrison was such, and so placed, as to render his design practicable ; and his hatred to the General was known to be most implacable. For about two years before, when Monk commanded in Chief in Scotland, and Overton as Major-General of the Foot, next under him, (Cromwel, then being Protector) he had drawn several Officers (Zealots for a Commonwealth) into a Conspiracy against him. New-year's Day in the Morning, was the time agreed upon to surprize Monk at Dalkeith ; and the attempt was not thought easy only, but certain. So the Question was moved,

moved, what they should do with him, when they had him? The most desperate (Syndercomb was in the Conspiracy) were for killing him upon the place. But one of the Godly (judging that it would be a scandal to them to kill a man in cold blood, when he was in their power); openly protested that he would discover the Plot, if they proceeded upon that Resolution. Whereupon the Conspirators broke-up the Meeting for that time. Now, because this interposition of Conscience saved the General's Life, and probably some of his Servants also; I will gratefully mention the man: It was Mr. Oates, then a Chaplain of note among those Conspirators, and afterwards beneficed in a small Living in the Diocese of Chichester. May those who have it in their power, and who are grateful to the Memory of the Duke of Albemarle, be disposed to give him a better!

An anecdote concerning the celebrated *Titus Oates*, that does honour to his memory.

Overton from Hull, (a place fatal to the old King) sent-forth his Emissaries to insinuate the appearance of Monarchical Government (for some men only hate Kings because they are not Kings themselves) and to tell the Soldiery that the formerly-abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart did now seem to shine again in the face of the public Transactions, conjuring the Brethren in the Army, (who remained faithful to the True Cause) to signify their concurrence with him. Several Copies of his Letters were dispersed in the North, and one of them was sent to the General by Colonel Fairfax, (Governour of York) where the General had many True Friends (beside him) that were active to suppress all such practices; as Colonel Bethel, Smith, and others.

Colonel Overton, governor of Hull, exhorts the Officers of the army to insist on the continuance of a republican government.

The General did not only use his own Authority, to command Overton out of Hull, but recommended the matter to the Council of State also; who sent thither Colonel Alured, and Major Smith. The first prevaricated in his Trust, and went privately to the Governor, staying late with him at night. But Smith getting Intelligence of this, with Sums of Money borrowed in the Town, (being he was well known there) forthwith bought-off the Soldiers, at the Parade, to their obedience to the Parliament. So that Overton was forced to obey the General's Orders, and came-up to Town; though he soon

But is removed from the government of Hull.

soon became so far reconciled to Monarchical Interests, (his own expression) that he declared for King Jesus. But his Soldiers rather followed Smith's Money. And the Parliament knowing what Money would do with such people, voted no less a Tax upon England and Wales, for six Months together, than an hundred thousand pounds per mensem. Now though they did not follow the Examples given of extending their Assessments upon Scotland and Ireland, yet the General's care reached even these also. In Scotland he had not forgot his Trusty Friend Major-General Morgan; by a more authoritative Commission constituting him to command there, and sending him more strength.

In Ireland so many persons of eminent quality appeared for him, that he apprehended no danger thence, either of a present disturbance, or of playing an after-game distinct from themselves. Though this in Scotland they might have done, had not Morgan been true to Monk. But at home, though he had made a very large reformation in the Army; yet he thought not his time ripe enough, as yet, for the displacing of some, who now gave him trouble.

All the Officers of the Army, who kept their Commissions, had under their hands signed their concurrence for introducing the secluded Members, and owned the necessity of it; but still they would understand their obedience to the Parliament, to extend no further, than as they were bottomed upon a Free State. For this was the Phrase of the Letter which Monk and his Officers had sent to them; which intimated their readiness to take care that this great object should not be lost. But now they were not satisfied of the good intentions of the Parliament touching this mode of Government; nor much better of the General's intentions concerning it, who had refused the offer (that had been made him by the Parliament) of the Honour and Manor of Hampton-Court; which was the only portion of Crown-Lands that was yet unsold, and which had been possessed by Cromwell, when he assumed the Title of Protector. For the old, sitting, Members of the Parliament had craftily proposed the giving this noble mansion to the General, as a reward for his great services :
and

and the secluded Members had agreed to the proposal, thinking that they could not fairly withstand the motion of rewarding him. But the General, upon his refusing the Donation of these Lands, as being a House too great for him, was recompensed with a gift of twenty thousand Pounds. Yet this Non-acceptance rendered him still more suspected. Now these Officers, when they saw the General had refused these Crown-Lands, and even the dignity of the Crown itself, when offered by some who best understood their own safety; combined into dangerous resolutions, and contrived a Paper to be universally subscribed (presenting it to the General for his subscription in the first place) the purport of which was,

Many of the Officers of General Monk's army solicit him to subscribe a Declaration in favour of a Commonwealth government.

To declare that the Government of these Three Nations should be a Commonwealth, without Kingship, or any other single person, by what Name, or Title, soever dignified or distinguished: And that this present Parliament should be required to pass this into an Act, as a Fundamental Constitution, not to be shaken or questioned by future Parliaments; and that the Army ought, upon no other Terms, to maintain their Authority. These Officers did assemble very daringly before the General, Col. Okey being their Prolocutor. This Gentleman was a better Soldier than an Orator; beside that his Life lay at stake, having sat as judge upon the King's. He was also a known Stickler for the Commonwealth-Party, and, but lately, was as much a General as Monk himself; neither did he want either a courage to act, or possibly a Party of the Army to follow him. Wherefore the General did not esteem it prudent to ruffle in words, though he was resolved not to comply with their request, by subscribing to the Paper. So that *Commissary Clargis* (for so, now, he was of the *Musters*) was put upon undertaking the debate. For he had the General's good opinion, as favouring his design; and indeed it concerned him to deserve it; both their Interests being bound-up in the same bottom. I happened to be present at the debate; which Clargis managed with much resolution, and dexterity of words; laying before them their own danger, in making such an Address at that time to the Parliament, in regard this was the very Parliament that would not be frightened with their

A debate on this subject; which is managed with great ability by Commissary Clargis, in opposition to the said Declaration.

their Arms, or Impeachments of Treason, before ; much less now, when all sober men saw the inconveniency of being governed by an Army : further insinuating, that the General and his Officers were to prescribe unto them ; that the Parliament had an Authority, in which themselves by their subscription did acquiesce ; that they could vote the General, and whom else they thought fit, out of their Commands ; and, when that was done, pass a vote for their own Dissolution, without appointing the issuing-out of Writs for the succeeding Parliament : for, if the General (he said) would break his promise of not disturbing them, they might very well break theirs for calling another Parliament : and that there would be no fear of a Civil Government, because none to assume it, (unless they would trust Richard Cromwell) the General having refused it, as some of themselves well knew, who had made him an offer of it. These reasons the General approved-of ; and added, *that he would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses, than be so treacherous to his Country's freedom.*

But General Monk refuses to subscribe the Declaration, and refers all to the next Parliament.

The Debate was long, and not without some heat of words ; but, after our Officers had spent their Fears and Jealousies of losing *the good old Cause*, the General, with Gravity and Calmness, admonished them, that it was contrary to the *Discipline* of an Army to meddle with Civil Government ;—that they and he were under the Command of the Parliament, their Superiors ;—that he did not doubt but the next Parliament would quiet all their Apprehensions ;—and that this Parliament could not hurt them ; for that they were upon the point of dissolving themselves. Then he severely commanded his Officers to have no more of these Meetings, without his privy ; and soon after removed some of them from their Commands.

Some Members of the Parliament are unwilling to dissolve it, and call a new Parliament.

But the next trouble that the General found, was from the Parliament itself ; several of whose Members were offering to break the Articles of their Admission, and not to yield to the calling of another Parliament. Mr. Prynne spake it openly, “ That, if the King must come-in, it was safest for them that he should come-in by their Votes who had made the War against his Father.” Whereupon Prynne was sent-for, and admonished to be quiet ; and it was the business of Mr. Morrice to keep this expiring Session of Parliament steady,

steady, and clear from intermeddling with the change of the Government; in which case he did excellent service, punctually observing the Directions of the General, who so passionately longed for their Dissolution, that at last he took the liberty to remind them of it; they having done his work. So they authorized the issuing-out of Writs for another Parliament, which was to meet the 25th of April next, at Westminster (their Promise being, that it should be the 20th.) But, before they broke-up, they Vote (to justify themselves) that the General should give no Commission to any Officer to serve in the Army, who should not declare in these Words.

But at length the Parliament dissolves itself, and issues Writs for the choosing of another Parliament.

1, N, Do Acknowledge and Declare, that the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their Defensive part, against the Forces raised in the Name of the late King, was Just and Lawful.

And Ordered, That the Commission-Officers should further Declare, That they believed Magistracy and Ministry to be Ordinances of God. By this may Posterity understand to what a fine pass their prosperous Arms had brought Three Kingdoms.

And there was a Second like to the First, viz. That *all and every Person and Persons, who have advised, aided, abetted or assisted in any War against the Parliament, since the first of January 1641, he, they, or their Sons, shall be incapable to be Elected to serve as Members of the next Parliament, unless he, or they, have since manifested their good Affections to this Parliament:* The longest Day will have an end; and this long Parliament dissolved themselves March the 17th. But as for their Votes, they were no more regarded than dead men's Shoes; the Country hastening to their Elections, as the Writs came-down.

The long Parliament is dissolved, March 17, 1659-60.

The General being at St. James's, was now besieged with Business and Visits. His Business he very well knew how to dispatch; and I do affirm, that in all my several Years of Attendance on him, it was rare that ever he left any thing of the Day to be done on the Morrow: Nay, at Night, when he found his Secretaries offered him nothing, he used to ask if any thing more was to be done? chiding them, that they should be sooner weary of Writing, than he of Dictating. But Visits (though fit

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to be paid to his Honour and Authority) were a new Employment ; of which the most weighty at that time, was the Address of Sir John Greenville. He had before made his Applications, as others had done ; and that without Suspicion too : they being publick. And, though Greenville had the Misfortune to be a known Cavalier, yet he was Monk's near Kinsman. But, as near as he was, he could not gain an Opportunity of having any Conference with him : for, though he would often spin-out his Visits to an extraordinary length, in Expectation of the Room's being cleared, by the breaking-up of the Company ; yet, so soon as ever it was, and a Convenience offered of unfolding part of his Errand, the General (well knowing the Reason of Greenville's long Attendance,) would immediately rise from his Chair, and say, *Good-Night, Cousin ; It is late ;* or otherwise excuse himself, by pretending Business. But Sir John, having been so often frustrated, and, being impatient till he could give the King, his Master, some further Assurance of the General's good Intentions, than what Mr. Monk (who said no more to him than that he was under an Oath of Secresie with his Brother) could afford him : At last be-thought himself of making his Application to Mr. Morrice, hoping, by his Mediation, to obtain the favour of a little private Discourse with the General, to whom he was to communicate a Negotiation of great importance. Morrice gave particular heed to what he said, and acquainted the General with it ; but he refused to have any secret Converse with him, in regard that (he being a known Cavalier,) notice would be taken of it, should he be admitted to any such Privacy as desired. Yet he ordered Morrice to wait upon his Cousin, to try if he could learn of what quality his Business was, and to make his Report accordingly ; giving him leave to assure him in his Name, that he was authorized to receive his Message (of what secresie soever it might be) and he promised to return the General's answer to it. This Morrice earnestly pressed Greenville to do ; but he refused the Proposal, and would not give him the least intimation of his business, only telling him that it concerned none but the General himself ; and yet him so very much, that without all further delay

he

he must necessarily impart it to him ; and, in case he obstinately persisted to deny him a private hearing, he was resolved to speak to him where-ever he should meet him next. Upon Morrice's reporting of this to the General, he was inwardly pleased at it ; so the next night was appointed for disclosing this Secret.

Greenville came to Morrice's Chamber at St. James's ; whither the General, upon Morrice's intimation, soon after came likewise. Sir John Greenville and the General being now alone (and Morrice, Door-keeper to the Conference) he addressed himself to the General in this purport of Words ; (they are his own) " That he was infinitely obliged to his Excellency, for giving him this Opportunity of discharging himself of a Trust of great Importance both to himself, and the whole Kingdom, that had been long deposited in his hands ; and that, whatsoever became of him, he thought himself very happy to have this good Occasion of performing his Duty, in obeying the Commands of the King, his Master." At the same instant, he presented the General with a Letter from his Majesty, and produced another directed to himself, as also the Commission which he had from his Majesty, to treat with him.

Sir John Greenville delivers to General Monk, a Letter from King Charles the 2nd.

The General stept-back ; and (holding the Paper in his Hand) with a frowning Countenance demanded of him " how he durst to speak to him in such a Matter, without considering the Danger he was to run-into ? " But Sir John's Answer was, " That he had long since duly considered this Matter, with all the Danger that might attend it ; which was not sufficient yet to deter him from the Performance of his Duty in this particular, any more than in all others, which he had cheerfully undergone at his Majesty's Command ; but that he was the more encouraged to undertake this, in regard that his Excellency could not but remember the Message he had received in Scotland, by his Brother." Whereupon, the General, without any other Reply, approached him with a pleasing Aspect ; and embracing him in his Arms, said, *Dear Cousin, I thank you with all my heart for the Prudence, Fidelity, Care and Constancy you have shewed in this great Affair ; and*

I am much pleased also at your resolute secrecie in it; for, could I have understood that you had revealed it to any one living, since you first trusted my Brother with it, I would never have treated with you; which now I shall most willingly; and with you the rather, because you are one of my nearest Kinsmen, and of a Family to which I owe many Obligations. So the General read the King's Letters, and the Commission; for which he said, I hope the King will forgive what is past, both in my Words and Actions, according to the Contents of his Gracious Letter: for my heart was ever faithful to him; but I was never in a condition to do him Service till this present time. And you shall assure his Majesty, that I am now not only ready to obey his Commands, but to sacrifice my Life and Fortune in his Service. To witness this, I call this honest Man from the Door. So he called Mr. Morrice to him; who, by this time, could not but understand the Design of Greenville's coming to the General. Morrice likewise chearfully embraced the Proposal, and was assistant in it. Sir John now intreated the General to send some Confident of his own to the King; which the General willingly yielded-to; but told him the Confident must be himself. For he would send no Letters as yet, for fear of the worst: and without them, the King had no reason to give credit to a Messenger from him: though his Majesty might well believe his own Messenger, whom he had employed to him; Wherefore at the next Conference Instructions were prepared, which Greenville wrote-out; and, after Greenville had diligently perused them, and fixed them in his Memory, (as he was desired to do,) the General threw the Paper into the fire, with charge not to commit his Instructions again to Paper till he came to Brussels, (where the King then was) and there to communicate them to none but his Majesty.

This is that Noble Sir John Greenville, (the now Earl of Bath,) to whom the Author hath dedicated this Memorial, proclaiming him a Witness of the designed Loyalty of General Monk; (the late Duke of Albemarle), whose successful Negotiation with him,
began

began and compleated the Restauration of our present Sovereign, and, with him, of our Laws and Liberties, which we now see and enjoy. But there was yet more Work to be done.

The Officers of the Army, who, from their several Quarters in the Country, came to Town, to hear and make new Disturbance, were remanded to their distinct Charges by the Council of State:—But Men of greater Quality than these Officers (and by some thought to be of greater Guilt too) were very earnest with the General, that the King, if he must be brought-in by the next Parliament, should be admitted to his Throne upon no other terms than the Concessions of the Isle of Wight. These were Articles too streight for Monarchy, and wholly destructive of the Constitution of the Church, as formerly (and now) governed; Charles the First having yielded to them when he was a Prisoner in Carisbrook-Castle, in 1648. And, because the Parliament then Voted them to be sufficient Grounds for a Treaty with the King, the Army turned-out the Members who had so voted, and kept them out of the House; and they, in consequence, of this violent removal, were afterwards called by the Name of the *Secluded Members*. But in truth, even these Members and the Sitting Members, added together, were not the whole Body of the House of Commons; for a great Portion of it, and a greater of the House of Lords, had deserted those that sat at Westminster, and had acted as a Parliament, with the King, at Oxford; and, if his late Majesty's Arms had been prosperous, might have been esteemed as such: And “why they were not so esteemed, even in the contrary event which did take place,” let others tell the reason. But, to make Mirth with that Treaty, of which one of the Preliminary Articles for a Peace (as propounded by the Parliament) was, “that neither they nor their Armies were *Rebels* in making War against the King;” to this his late Majesty answered, “that then He and his Army were.” To this a late Noble Lord replied, *Nay, Sir, if you are thereabout, there is no Peace for us with your Majesty, but the Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding; from which God of his Mercy deliver us!* But it behoved the charitable to pray that his Lordship's Prayer might not be heard, on account of the blood

Some Persons of great quality and importance solicit General Monk to take care that, if the King is to be restored to the Throne, it should be only upon the conditions of the Treaty of the Isle of Wight.

Of the State of Parties in the Nation at that time.

that had been spilt; for in one and the same Commonwealth there cannot be understood to be two Sovereigns, who can equally write *Dei Gratiâ*; and no less Power than what is delegated from God, and so bears the Sword, can warrant the shedding of Blood.

The love of Private Interests had for a long time obstructed the Interest of the Publick, which, though something more enlarged, was not as yet fully at Liberty; the secluded Members, before their Dissolution, having taken all the care they could to have preserved their own share in the Government. That which was called the *Commonwealth-Party*, had, at that time, little other Interest than what was bound-up in the Army; which had been modelled by the General with new Officers, and such old ones as had served in the Parliament's War till the year 1643. And the Soldiers and inferior Officers were not able to make any great or dangerous mutinies, as being left destitute of authority to countenance them: Besides that the Country and City Militia, were of a temper quite different from the Army, and became no contemptible Balance against them. The Royal Party, who had served the King, as yet bore very little sway; though their hopes were pregnant; depending upon the Issue of the next Parliament. This being the face of things; to solicit the General, that the King's Restauration might be hampered with his Father's Concessions in the Isle of Wight, was no Idle or unseasonable Proposition, for such as found themselves concerned to look about them. But the General, at first moving, expressed a resolution of his professed obstinacy to adhere to a Commonwealth; though at last (in regard that the Proposers were, some of them, Men of Honour, and all of Eminency) he seemed to be conquered into a concurrence with them; but so as to hint this to be the utmost Line that he could, or would, advance-to, in favour of the King. This stiffness endeared him the more to the Proposers, as encreasing their hopes that he would not deceive them.

But soon after; the General's danger was freely represented unto him, should he, by yielding to such Proposals, anticipate the next Parliament; because, in all probability, it would bring a fresh War upon the Nation. For, if, upon the opening of the next Parliament, they should vote for the King's Return, and he should assent to it no otherwise than upon the Isle of Wight's Articles, and they,
under

under the terror of his Arms, should not be able otherwise to bring him in : It would take-up much time for Messengers to pass and repass the Seas; and for Articles (as in all other Treaties) to be explained; so that, whilst these things were transacting, the Army might get Breath, and find an opportunity to revolt from him.

The Proposers rejoiced that they had so far prevailed with the General; and sent an express of their own to the King at Brussels, representing to him the great service they had done his Majesty in prevailing with Monk (notwithstanding his being so obstinate a Commonwealthsman) not to oppose his Majesty's return upon his Father's concessions in the Isle of Wight, and no otherwise: and that, though these were hard Terms, and assented-unto by his Father in the time of his necessity, yet they besought his Majesty that he would not now think them too hard, lest his refusal might exclude him from the Crown.

But it so fell-out that their service and message were declined: for Sir John Greenville was got before him to the King, to whom he had related Monk's acceptance of his service. This ought to be supposed most welcome news to his Majesty; and the more, because the General had required no conditions of Restraint to the Royal Power, as also none of reward to himself; insomuch that the King, upon the receipt of the Letter from these Proposers (which he shewed to Sir John Greenville) merrily said to him, *Little do they in England think, that General Monk and I are upon so good terms: for I myself could hardly have believed it till your arrival; which hath brought me such happy news, and with so great secrecy too, from the General, of my Restauration, without conditions, even beyond our expectation here, or the belief of all our friends in England, excepting yourself, who was alone employed in it.**

3 E 3

Afterwards,

The adherents to the conditions of the Treaty of the Isle of Wight send a Message to the King at Brussels, to invite him upon these conditions.

But Sir John Greenville, with a message from General Monk, had been with the King before them.

* By this account of the King's declaration on this occasion, it seems probable that the King would have readily consented to the conditions of the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, if that had been required of him. And, if he had done so, the advantages which the Nation would have derived from the restoration of their antient and favourite form of Government "by an hereditary Monarchy, limited by known laws which could not be repealed, or changed, without the joint consent of a House of Lords and a House of Commons, or representatives chosen by the people," would have been more compleat and satisfactory than they were afterwards found to be

Afterwards, when the King was recognised by both Houses of Parliament (it was on the very first day of its meeting that the Regal Authority had been so owned) several persons of honour (some who had abetted the King's, and others who had abetted the Parliament's, cause) dined with the General at St James's. And there arose a hot contest between them about the Lawfulness of the late War, and whether the King should be admitted to return with or without conditions. I observed the General to be silent, though some hard words had passed at his Table : So he required me to say Grace, rather than he would stay-out his Dinner and the Controversy.

Sir John Greenville arrives at Brussels, and delivers General Monk's message to the King.

But, to return to the matter;—Greenville's negotiation was managed with such secrecy, and his Journey to Brussels was so speedy and fortunate, that few knew of it before his arrival there ; and those who did, and went in his Company, did not so much as suspect the errand he was sent on. The King, upon intimation of his being come, went privately to his Lodgings, and was alone with him, and Greenville discovered his Instructions from the General to his Majesty ; by whom he was believed, though he brought no Letter. For the King (to debate what was to be done) consulted with his Lord Chancellor Sir Edward Hyde, the Marquiss of Ormond, and Secretary Nicholas, in the presence of Greenville. And in this Privy-Council Monk's Commission was signed, to be Captain-General of all his Majesty's Land-Forces in the three Kingdoms; and publick dispatches (according to Instructions given) were framed, and signed here. Likewise then the King removed from the Spanish to the United Netherlands, according to the advice given by the General to Greenville : and this was done both in haste and in privacy. His Majesty, being come to Breda, dated his publick dispatches from thence ; and there Sir John Greenville received them from his Majesty, in order to his returning

The King removes from Brussels to Breda.

be in the subsequent part of the reign of King Charles the Second. The advantages that would have resulted to the Nation from the Conditions of the Treaty in the Isle of Wight, are admirably well described in Mr. Prynne's speech in Parliament upon them, on the 5th of December. 1648; which may be seen in the Parliamentary History, vol. xviii. pages 303, 304, &c. to page 445. It is one of the best speeches I ever read, and had a wonderful effect upon the House.

for

for England ; but the King would not send him back empty, and without a mark of his favour.

Sir John Greenville, when he came first to Brussels, and had related Monk's resolution to espouse the King's Cause and Interest, humbly desired his Majestie's Pardon, if, in his negociation, he had exceeded his Instructions of reward. To which the King graciously answered, that whatever he had promised in his name, should be punctually performed upon his Restauration. But Greenville then informed his Majesty, that he had propounded to the General 100,000*l.* per annum for ever, as his Majesty's donative to him and his Officers, with the Office of Lord High Chancellor, and Constable of England, for Himself, and the Nomination of any other the great Offices of the Crown. All which Monk had generously refused, saying that *he would not tye the King to any terms of reward, and that he took more comfort and consent in that now he hoped he was able to do his Majesty and his Country service, than in expectations of greatness.* Besides that the General had given him this as a special charge that he should not propound any thing to his Majesty as a gratification for service, either for Himself or for any Friend, or Officer, of his, upon his accompt. The King then pressed Greenville to know what he should do for Him ; but he, after the General's example, nobly refused all Proposals of reward for the service in which he had been so eminently successful, till he should happily see his Majesty at Whitehall. However, the King had then put-up into Greenville's pocket (though unknown to him) a Warrant under his Hand and Seal for an English Earldom, and the assurance of 3000*l.* per annum for ever, to support his Honour, together with a promise to pay his and his Father's Debts, which had been contracted in the War-Time in the service of his Majesty and his Royal Father.

So Greenville was sent-back by his Majesty to the General, and brought with him (besides the above-mentioned Commission) his Majestie's Seals and Signet by which the General was empowered to make a Secretary of State; which Office he conferred upon Mr. Morrice, by the advice of Sir John Greenville. Morrice, upon the King's

Sir John Greenville
returns to England.
April 3, 1660.

return, was soon after, toward the latter end of May, (Greenville's return to the General being about the beginning of April) Knighted and confirmed in his place of Secretary of State. Now, besides his publick Letters, (which were reserved to be communicated;) he brought with him a private one to the General from his Majesty, written with his Majesty's own hand. To this Letter the General returned an answer by Mr. Bernard Greenville, Brother to Sir John; because Sir John himself could not, at this time, be spared to go-over again to his Majesty, as the meeting of the Parliament was approaching, and he was to present to both Houses his Majesty's Letters and Declarations: Wherefore Bernard Greenville (that this secret negociation might be continued in the Family) was thought to be the most fit and the safest Express that could be sent. And, indeed, he could not but be as welcome to his Majesty; for he brought now the assurances, under his hand, of the General's resolution, to adhere to the King's cause against all opposition whatever. I therefore notify this, because it was the first Letter that the General durst adventure to send to his Majesty: Nay, even this Letter was sent almost too soon; for Lambert, by the secret connivance of the Inferior Trustees of the Tower, had escaped out of Prison. This was the joy and triumph of such as designed an after-game by the Sword: for he had the good luck to be beloved by the Soldiery; and, upon that account, Oliver Cromwell, when he was Protector, though he respected his military talents, had removed him from his command in the Army, as suspecting that he would not only tread in his Steps, but upon his Heels.

General Lambert
escapes from the
Tower, April 9, 1660.

The News of Lambert's escape soon came to us at St. James's; and almost at the same time a private information where he was hid. Thither the General sent, and found it to be true; but he had got-away before, to set-up the Trade of War in the Country. Wherefore, as soon as ever it was advertised where Lambert was, the General prepared (or seemed to do it at least) for a March; from which he was easily prevailed-upon to desist by those who represented unto him the necessity of his keeping the Town, in regard that the Common Soldiers of the Army were not yet fixed to him, however he had modelled the Officers of it; and indeed many of these had already subscribed, that they

would

would rest satisfied with what the Parliament should determine about Government, as did all of them afterwards, who continued in their commands ; and these Subscriptions, not long after, were required even of private Soldiers. Lambert having gained some accomplices to his Designs, they shifted Quarters into Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, to pick-up more ; all whom the Council of State declared to be Traitors. But Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard) Ingoldsby made them such: for he took Lambert Prisoner, and sent him up, in Easter-week, to the Council of State. Here it was that I first and last saw this renowned Captain, but now a Captive ; (to our comfort be it spoken) of whose skill in the Art of War the General had no great opinion, and of which I can make no judgement. But, if Lambert intended to make a Rape upon the Government, (as it was thought he did ;) he had not unqualified himself for it : For I never heard that he had listed himself into any Religious Faction ; but, being a Latitudinarian to all, he might with less opposition have ruled the roost : Nay, and even a party then most odious,* did not despair of fair quarter from him.

But is soon retaken by Colonel Ingoldsby, and recommit^tted to prison.

This unhappy Captain fell sooner than the General once thought he would ; because now the King's Interest was become visible upon the Stage, and the Soldiers and under-Officers would soon have resorted to him as the Deliverer of their Country, had he not been thus timely suppressed. This piece of Service none could so luckily have performed as Colonel Ingoldsby ; for he was both known and beloved in the Army, and had Inclination, as well as courage, to do it, as having been (though covertly) engaged in Booth's Conspiracy.

But, whilst Lambert was thus in the Field, and threatened a War, the General sent for Sir John Greenville, and told him that, if Colonel Ingoldsby should be beaten, and the Army should, in consequence, go over to follow Lambert, in such numbers, that he could not be suppressed but by a War ; then he was resolved to put-off his Disguise, declare the King's Commission, own it for the Authority by which he acted, and commission the Royal Party into

* Probably the Popish Party.

Arms, in all places through England, Scotland, and Ireland : Wherefore he required Sir John to attend him, and receive Orders from him for his Majesty's Service.

But Providence had appointed the King's Restauration to be without Blood ; nay, and some few of our Officers (for it was no publick Combination) expressed their willingness to do it, making this overture to the General, that, if he would undertake by his sole Authority (as Generalissimo at Land, and half a one by Sea) to restore the King, they promised their own assistance, and undertook to promote this design farther in the Army, if he would give them leave to appear in it ; they prudently alledging, that such a course would be more for his honour, than to give way to a Parliament to do it ; and then they might expect better terms afterwards for themselves. He knew the men and their designs, and returned this answer : *That the Parliament which was to be, was called upon a Commonwealth-account ; and it did not, now at least, become Soldiers to meddle with the change of Government, for he would be true to his Declaration to keep the Military Power in obedience to the Civil ;* reminding them that themselves had promised to rest contented with what the Parliament should do touching Government. To this the Royal Party in and about the Town had also subscribed, and testified their submission to the present Power, as it then resided in the *Council of State*, in expectation of the future Parliament, and promised to bury all rancours and animosities in oblivion. This Declaration was by them published, with the subscriptions of several Noblemen and Gentlemen of eminent Quality.

However Affairs now were in a fair procedure towards a National Settlement, yet there wanted not Agitators to disturb it, who went up and down in the City and Country to spirit the Army into Discontent. Wherefore the Reward of 10*l.* was published, and promised for the Discovery of any one of them. But Agitators enough of this sort, (as well *Lay* as *Clergy*) came to St. James's : Hugh Peters was of both Coats ; for he had a portion of the Lord Craven's Lands, and feared a secular Restitution too. This noble Lord (nobler now, being advanced to the Earldom of Craven,) had never fought against the
Parliament,

The Royalists publish a Declaration of their Submission to the present Power.

Parliament, but from his youth generously hazarded his Person, and spent his Estate in Foreign Wars, to the Honour of his Country ; whom the General always honoured, and who succeeded him, after his Death, in the Command of the Regiment of the King's Guards, (my most Honourable and Noble Colonel.) And by what contrivance, or for what delinquency, his Estate was forfeited, is not an Enquiry proper for this place. But the General's Lady was so bold as to ask Hugh Peters if he was not for *Restitution* ? The Ministers of Independency likewise were very solicitous to know what they must trust-to, and disturbed the hopes of the Presbyterians, by telling them that Episcopacy and Arminianism were coming upon them.

It was my portion to hear these things, being sometimes deputed to attend them. But I was an Infidel to all these Fears ; for the General still adhered to a Commonwealth, and neither Jest nor Earnest could make any other discovery of him ; For once he was set-upon, in jest, by a late Long-Parliament-Commonwealth's-man, who was good at it : He told the General, that he had always had a great esteem of him (I think he had once, at a pinch, happily served him) and asked him what he aimed-at, a King or a Commonwealth ? The General answered, " You have known me a long time, and you know that I have been these many years for a Commonwealth ; and I am still of that opinion." He returned, " I ought to believe your Excellency ; but will you give me leave to tell you a story. It was this : A City-Taylor was met one evening in the Country, with a pick-axe and spade : A neighbour of his asked him whither he was going with those Instruments ? He answered, " to take measure for a new Suit of cloaths at such a House, and for such a person." His neighbour demanded, " What, with a pick-axe and spade ?" " Yes," quoth the Tailor, these are the measures now in fashion." So he left the application to his Excellency, whether his new Models in the Army were fit Tools to make a Commonwealth with.

Nor could Monsieur Bourdeaux (then Resident Ambassador for France) gain any certainty of his designs, though he made an attempt to dive into them. He sent for Commodore Clargis, and propounded the assistance of Cardinal Mazarine, either to help the General to the
Sovereignty,

Sovereignty, or to restore our King; adding his Advice, that the King might be desired to retire into France, and that speedy Notice should be given him to leave Flanders, if the General aimed at his *Restitution*. But the General would not allow the Ambassador the Liberty of this Discourse to him, though he refused him not a Visit, upon the Request of Clargis. The Story is at large related in Baker's Chronicle, page 717. Printed *Anno* 1674; whether I refer the Reader, because I knew nothing of it till I found it there.

The Parliament was now ready to sit-down, and the King's return was visible to the wise and discerning, provided that the General had not his Reserves to give a stop to it; for he still kept himself in a Cloud. Wherefore the prying and suspicious (of which sort were Women) found-out little *Devices* to sound what were his Intentions, by giving small gifts to his son (a child, then between six and seven years of age, now the Duke of Albemarle) who innocently told these busy Enquirers, that his Father and Mother, in bed, had talked of the King's coming home. I dare promise that he shall not be so easily outwitted or surprized now; and I doubt not, but that he will be heir of his Father's Prudence, as well as of his Estate. And may he live to out-do him in both! However, I wish so; for I love and honour him, whose Education was sometimes committed to my charge.

Though the Parliament were not met, yet all apprehensions of danger were already over. Only a few Labels were thrown in the night at our Guards, against the King and his Party. Wherefore, now we were entertained with *Feasting*, to which the worthy Citizens of London did invite the General and his Officers; and it would be ungrateful not to mention their great and sumptuous Entertainments; thanks being the proper reward of good Cheer. These Feasts were performed in the publick Halls of the more ancient Companies; where (besides Meat and Musick) we had sometimes the Sin-Songs of more than Ballade-Poets, who hope yet for better things than what they saw. At which some of the Officers would say, that they were *Beasts set up a fatting for the Slaughter*.

But now came the 25th of April, when both Houses of Parliament (the great Restorers of their Country's freedom)

dom) sat-down. It was not disputed who called them, and gave them this Authority : but the most Rebellious submitted to it. Now it appeared that God's mercy (which must be first revered, and eternized) then the King's Clemency, the General's Conduct, and this Parliament sitting, had prevented our Officers' fears, and the effusion of Blood, either by the Sword of War or of Justice : for none suffered upon the old score, those only excepted, who were after adjudged to Death, for the Murder of Charles the First; (and some of these too had their Lives given them) unless I should add the further exemption of some few others ; as Mr. Henry Vane (the very Son of his Father), and Hugh Peters, whose Guilt was thought greater than some of the greatest of the Criminals, who sat in a Court of Mock-Justice upon the Life of their Sovereign.

The Parliament adjourned for some few days, and Sir John Greenville consulted with the General about the delivery of his Mesage from his Majesty.

That which was superscribed to the General, to be by him communicated to the Army and Council of State, was by his Appointment delivered to him at the Door of the Council-Chamber, where Greenville attended, and into which as Colonel Birch (one of the Members of it) was entering, Greenville requested him (but unknown) that he might speak with my Lord-General; who, upon Birch's intimation, came to the door, and there, in the sight of his Guards, attending, received Greenville's Letters; but not with much regard, either to his *Person* or his *Business*, of which the General seemed to understand somewhat by the *Seal*, and asked him if he would stay there, till he had his answer ; otherwise his Guards should secure him. So his Excellency produceth his Letters to the Council of State ; Greenville is sent-for in, and Birch protested that he neither knew the Gentleman, nor his Business. The Lord President of the Council examined Greenville, from whence those Letters came, whose they were, and how he came by them ; (for as yet they were not opened) he told the President, "that the King, his Master, gave him them with his own hands at Breda." So the opening of them was deferred till the Parliament sat. Greenville was to have been sent into custody; but the General was his Bail, who said he knew the Gentleman, (being his near Kinsman) and would take his parol to appear before the Parliament.

But

Sir John Greenville delivers the King's letters to the Parliament; who acknowledge his right, and intreat him to return to his Kingdom, April 27, 1660.

But the Monk's hood was now to be taken-off: The Parliament sat, and Greenville delivered his Letters, with inclosed Declarations to both Houses; upon whose owning his Majesty's Right, the General, being a Member of the House of Commons, (into which he had been chosen both for a Knight of the Shire of Devon, in which he was born, and for a Burgess for the University of Cambridge) desired that the King's Letters to him, (which were directed to be communicated to the Council of State, and the Army) might be read. The Lord-Mayor of the City of London, and the Common-Council received their's with inclosed Declarations from the King; and the Fleet, under the Command of Montague, had their's delivered to them also from Greenville. All these Letters and Declarations are extant, and well known; so that there is no need of a Rehearsal of them on this occasion. But one of them, which was the private concern of Sir John Greenville, (of which I have before given the Substance) I have asked leave here to insert: that it might be better understood what sense the King had of his Service in his Negociation with our General, and how grateful his Majesty's intentions towards his Restorers were. The Letter (or rather War-rant) under the Royal Signet, runs thus:

CHARLES R.

IN consideration of the many Services done us by our Right-trusty and well-beloved Servant, Sir John Greenville (one of the Gentlemen of our Bed-Chamber) and his Father, the most Valiant and Loyal Sir Beville Greenville, who most Honourably lost his Life at the Battel of Landsdown, in the Defence and Service of the Crown against the Rebels, after he had performed many other great and signal Services;—

But, more especially, in consideration of the late most extraordinary Services (never to be forgotten by us or our Posterity) which the said Sir John Greenville hath lately rendered us in his Person (in his secret, prudent, and most faithful Transactions and Negociations, in concluding that most happy Treaty which he had lately, by our special Command and Commission, with our Famous and Renowned General Monk; and wherein he alone (and no other) was instructed by us, concerning the said Treaty

Treaty, about those most important Affairs for our Restauration, which he has most faithfully performed with great prudence, care, secrecie, and advantage for our Service, without any conditions imposed upon us beyond our expectation, and the Commission we gave him ; whereof we doubt not but, by God's blessing, we shall speedily see the effects of our said happy Restauration:—We are graciously pleased to promise, upon the Word of a King, that, as soon as we are arrived in England, and it shall please God to restore us to our Crown of that Kingdom, We will confer upon our said right-Trusty and well-beloved Servant Sir John Greenville, the place and office of Groom of our Stole, and First Gentleman of our Bed-chamber (with all Fees, Pensions, and Perquisites thereunto belonging) together with the Title and Dignity of an Earlof our Kingdom of England: And, the better to support the said Title of Honour, and to Reward, as we ought, those many great services, and to recompence the losses and sufferings of him and his Family ; we are further graciously pleased to promise, upon our said Royal Word, to pay all the Debts that he, the said Sir John Greenville, or his Father, have contracted in the late Wars, in our service, or in our Royal Father's, of Blessed Memory ; and also to bestow and settle, in good Land in England, an Estate of Inheritance to the value of at least 3000l. per annum, upon him the said Sir John Greenville, and his Heirs for ever ; to remain as a perpetual acknowledgement for his said services; and as a Testimony of our Grace and Favour towards him, and that Ancient and Loyal Family of the Greenvilles, unto all Posterity. Given at our Court at Brussels, the 2d of April, in the 12th year of our Reign, 1660.

By his Majestie's Command,

Edward Nicholas.

To conclude, on the 8th of May, the King was joyfully proclaimed in the Cities of London and Westminster, and Greenville having received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, was sent-back to his Majesty at the Hague, with 50,000l. Sterling, from the Parliament ; to supply his Majestie's present occasions, till the arrival of the Commissioners

The king is proclaimed at London and Westminster, May 8, 1660.

And returns to London on the 29th of May, 1660.

missioners of both Houses, who were hastening after to invite his Majestie's return to his native Kingdom, and to the exercise of his Royal Authority: So that on the 29th his Majesty with great Solemnity entered the City. This day has, since 1660, been solemnized by our Church, for his Birth and Return: and may the Prayers of his Loyal Subjects, for him, ascend, and be heard by the God of Heaven; who bowed the Hearts of the most rebellious among us to submit to his Scepter! Of this the General was truly sensible; for, when I came to him at the Cock-Pit to give him my share of thanks, for this renowned Restauration, I kneeled to him and kissed his hands; but he took me up, and was pleased to speak some kind words to me; but, in speaking, broke into Tears, saying these words. *No, Mr. Price, It was not I that did this; you know the Jealousies that were had of me, and the oppositions against me; It was God alone who did it. To him be the Glory, whose is the Kingdom and the Power, over this and all Governments!* But, to disturb all this, there was an After-contrivance framed, and propounded to the General, viz. that he would most vigorously declare for the Solemn League and Covenant: to do this, there were invitations of Advantages offered him. But he was Resolute, and saw that he had deceived all those with whom he had had to do, and had gratified none of them; and that it was now too late to play an After-game, by attempting to impose conditions upon his Prince: He having before, when it was in his power, scorned to do it. And now he was to sink or swim with the King; for his Interest was no wider. These bold words were said, not for his sake, but others; for this his Loyalty was most truly fixed, and he was glad that he was delivered from the Impertinencies of the solicitations of such People. May God of his infinite Mercy deliver us from all narrow Interests! which, in our Age, have been the ruin of a most famous Commonwealth, left us by the wisdom of our Ancestors. And may the Men of private conceits unite, and bring their hands and hearts to the support of the publick: for *Extra Rempublicam non est salus.*







